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HEAD OF SARGON II

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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Editorials

THE OPEN MIND

Is openness of mind a foe to firmness of conviction? Does the readiness to receive new evidence and to adjust one's convictions to such evidence necessarily issue in instability? Are steadfastness and progress possible only by settling each question that arises with finality, and refusing thereafter ever to listen to evidence or argument on the subject? Yes, if on every subject the evidence is so indecisive and inconclusive that to look it squarely in the face is to keep one in perpetual uncertainty. No, if there are questions on which the evidence fairly examined is so decisive that, however often one may re-examine them, the same conclusions must necessarily be reached.

Will openness of mind on the question whether there is a sun in the heavens leave one in doubt whether there is a sun? Will openness of mind on the question whether there is any such thing as right and wrong leave one forever open to doubt? The truth is that the argument by which some people convince themselves that openness of mind issues in instability, and by which they justify themselves in shutting up their minds against all new evidence lest they should become driftwood upon the sea of opinion, has as its underlying premise a doubt concerning the certainty of anything. Extremes meet. Bidding us avoid skepticism by closing our minds to evidence, they assume the premise of universal skepticism. He who believes that there is such a thing as truth, and that fair examination of the evidence must lead to truth, can with open mind welcome all new light, and he is in reality the man who is most entitled to firmness of

conviction, knowing that he has reached his stable opinions, not by refusing to examine the evidence, but by fearlessly, and as often as necessary, facing the evidence.

EXPLORATION IN ANCIENT RUINS

There would seem to be great attraction in work of this kind for the student of the Bible. He is in any case immensely interested in the results of such explorations. The incentive to undertake such work grows with the years. Never before in the history of exploration has expectation been so high. The past, which has furnished such wonderful treasures as the Hammurabi code of laws, one of the most recent finds, furnishes an unquestionable basis for such expectations. There will, of course, be many disappointments, and long years may elapse without the discovery of anything of great importance; but a civilization which has yielded treasures of so rich a character must have treasures still more precious to disclose. And yet, what is the advantage of it all? Is it actual interest in this great field of work that impels us, or are we merely stirred by curiosity to discover something that others do not know or have? Is it the interest of the archæologist which leads men to risk even life in order, if possible, to secure these great monuments of a past antiquity? It is probably true that in the majority of cases the underlying feeling which prompts this almost abnormal interest is that which concerns religion and the Bible. These lands in which men are digging are the countries in which the scenes of Bible history were enacted, or countries with which the chosen family of old was brought into close relationship. These new finds are expected to corroborate the truth of the Holy Scriptures, or at all events to throw great light upon dark places in these Scriptures. This, at any rate, has been the experience in the past. The Old and New Testaments have received important contributions to their full meaning, their strength, and their everlasting character by the results of exploration. Some things have come to light which seem to contradict the Scripture narratives; but when a true interpretation has been found of these facts and of the Scripture statement, both stand out stronger and more illumining. The annual income from an investment of $10,000,000 could be used advantageously during the next quarter

of a century on work of this character. We may not forget that all such work will be attended with greater and greater difficulty as the years pass. Whose horizon is not broadened by the very contemplation of the possibilities?

THE OUTLOOK IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

As at the beginning of the new year we look out over the field with which the *Biblical World* is especially concerned—that of religious education in general, and of biblical study in particular—there are many things to give encouragement. That the problem of the Sunday school is receiving the earnest attention of many minds is attested, in the first place, by the books that have appeared within about a year. Of these it will suffice to name Mead's *Modern Methods of Sunday School Work*, Haslett's *The Pedagogical Bible School*, and Pease's *Outline of a Bible-School Curriculum*. Perhaps even more significant are the organized and systematic efforts that are making for the training of teachers for the Sunday school. It is hardly too much to say that this whole problem has been raised to a distinctly higher educational level than anything that has hitherto been attained. Not to speak of numerous steps of progress that have been made in other parts of the country, in the city of New York alone no less than three schools of high educational rank are now providing systematic instruction in training for Sunday-school teachers—the Union Theological Seminary, the Teachers College of Columbia University, and the Bible Teachers' Training School under the presidency of Dr. W. W. White. With the same purpose which these schools have in view, several teacher-training courses by correspondence have been inaugurated within the year, notably those of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, and those offered by the *Sunday School Times*, under the instruction of Professor Martin Brumbaugh, of the University of Pennsylvania. If to these efforts we add the adoption of a standard curriculum by the Western Sunday-School Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the publication within the year of several books for use in the Sunday school upon distinctly higher educational ideals than have hitherto usually controlled in the production of such literature,

it will be evident that in the field of biblical study in the Sunday school the progress of the year has been very marked.

Not less encouraging are the facts, referred to in another part of this journal, respecting the progress in Bible study which is making under the leadership of the Young Men's Christian Association. These facts constitute a most hopeful sign, alike for the colleges and for Bible study. They promise good for the colleges, because they reflect a moral earnestness upon the part of our college students which more than outweighs all the discouraging indications that there is in our American colleges a growing class of those who are seeking neither scholarship nor serious preparation for the work of life, but only four years of elegant or inelegant leisure. The young men who are willing to add to the work prescribed by the colleges daily or weekly Bible study are not men whose influence on the country after their graduation is to be feared. These signs are encouraging for Bible study, because they give assurance of the combination of the religious spirit and the student habit of mind in such Bible study. The man who has acquired the student spirit must be a student in all the work that he does. He cannot three hours in the day work in the scholarly atmosphere of the classrooms of history and chemistry and philology, and in another hour turn to the study of the Bible in a totally different spirit. The note of reality is more and more characteristic of the student life of America; and as these men, who have already learned to study the Bible in college, bringing to that study at once a deeply religious and a genuinely scholarly spirit, go out into the churches and Christian Associations of the country, they will carry with them an influence which is certain to be in the highest degree helpful. If there are any who are ready to fear that this influence will be intellectual only, and will tend to diminish the religious value and usefulness of such study, they wholly misapprehend the intensely religious spirit that pervades this work, and the intensification of that spirit which is certain to result from the happy union of the religious purpose for which the Young Men's Christian Associations stand, and the student spirit with which our American colleges are pervaded.

If from the field of biblical study in particular we turn to that of religious education in general, the signs of encouragement are not

less marked. The attention of the leading educators of the country, and of the religious public at large, is more and more turning to the great problems of religious and moral education. The work of the Religious Education Association is engaging the thought and effort of some of the ablest leaders of thought in the country. Its second volume of *Proceedings*, with its notable contributions to the literature of the subject, and the plans which have been formed for the third convention, alike testify to this fact. But the movement is not one of leaders only. Local guilds are being formed through which the co-operation and interest of thousands of ministers and Sunday-school workers are being enlisted.

With all these signs of hope and progress—and we have named but a few of the more salient points, passing by many of scarcely less significance—there is every reason to look toward the coming year with hope and expectation. We confidently expect that it will be possible in January, 1906, to look back upon a year of even more notable achievements than those of the year 1904.

THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

PROFESSOR MAX KELLNER, D.D.
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There is no period in the history of the Kingdom of Israel more full of interest than the quarter-century which saw both its greatest prosperity and its destruction. It was not so long ago that for information on this period we were restricted to the Old Testament; but the literary monuments recovered from the palaces of the contemporary Assyrian kings have spoken with authority, and in their light we get a new view of the political movements in Palestine. It may be profitable in our study not only to trace the prosperity, the decline, and the fall of the kingdom as portrayed by both of these sources, but for the sake of clearness to give as well a chronological epitome with references to such biblical and Assyrian texts as bear on our study, and to follow this with a translation of these Assyrian texts.

I. THE PROSPERITY, THE DECLINE, AND THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM

Only once in Israelitish history did the Northern Kingdom rise to a prosperity comparable with that of the palmy days of the monarchy. Under Jeroboam II, the greatest of her kings, Israel's sway extended from the Lebanons to the border of Edom. The political movements of the century had worked favorably for Israel. As the power of Assyria revived, it was the Syrians who, being nearer to Assyria than the Israelites, first felt the presence of this formidable power. The Assyrian invasion of 797 B. C., and the five campaigns which followed it within half a century, so crippled the energies of her inveterate foe as to give Israel a long immunity from Syrian invasion and to leave her king, Jeroboam, free to restore his kingdom to the same compass as in the time of David. The future seemed to promise a long continuance of prosperity and peace. But beneath the prosperity and splendor and luxury, as Amos and Hosea declared, the deadly cancer of social and moral decay was eating into the nation's

life. The death of Jeroboam in 740 B. C. ushered in the final act of the history. During the brief twenty years which remained of national existence the Israelite throne was the prize of a series of conspirators whose rivalries and misgovernment further aggravated the moral decay of the nation, and unfortunately gave the better opportunity for foreign intervention.

When in 745 B. C. Tiglath-pileser III (Pul) ascended the throne at Nineveh as the founder of the second Assyrian empire, he introduced a new thought into the world-politics of his day—one of which the statesmen and politicians of the West did not at first see the scope—the thought of a world-empire. Hitherto conquests had never been of a permanent character; even when tribute was imposed, it was generally discontinued upon the death of the ruler who had imposed it. Under Tiglath-pileser invasions ceased to be isolated invasions; they now had as their object the thorough subjugation of the invaded country. A king with unlimited ambition, Tiglath-pileser had military skill as well, and soon a well-trained and well-equipped army with which to bring his great gifts into effective action. Having made himself master of the East, he turned to Syria-Palestine. By 740 B. C. he had taken Arpad in Syria and had annexed Hamath to his empire. The fall of Arpad implied as well the seizure of the whole valley of the Orontes and the subjugation of the independent kings of Syria. Among the western princes who in 738 B. C. sent their tribute, Tiglath-pileser's *Annals* mention Rezin of Damascus, Hirom of Tyre, and even Menahem of Samaria. In this last-named prince we meet already Jeroboam's third successor. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, after a six-months' reign, had perished. His assassin, Shallum, had reigned one month and had been killed by Menahem, who by the annual tribute of a thousand talents of silver bought the good-will and protection of Tiglath-pileser "to confirm his kingdom in his hand."

Menahem's act gave the Assyrian king a hold upon Israel which was never again to be relaxed, and cost his son, Pekahiah, his life. Each year the resources of the land were drained to supply the heavy tribute, and each year the nation grew more restless under the unjust exaction. Although nothing was accomplished during the lifetime of the king who had called Assyria to his aid, and who held, as did

his son, Pekahiah, after him, that the only assurance of safety lay in submission to the great king of Nineveh, the strength of the anti-Assyrian party was growing apace. It found an energetic leader in Pekahiah's captain, Pekah, who headed an insurrection and slew the inefficient king.

Pekah and the anti-Assyrian party in Israel grasped the political situation. The two great world-powers of Assyria and Egypt were now face to face with only the petty states of Syria-Palestine lying between, and these Assyria was conquering and absorbing one by



KING BESIEGING A CITY

one. If Damascus, Hamath and Arpad, Tyre and Sidon, Samaria and Jerusalem, Gath and Gaza, could all be brought shoulder to shoulder on the frontier of northern Syria the Assyrian advance might yet be turned back to the gates of Nineveh. But that never came to pass; the innate individualism and the petty jealousies of the little states brought the plan to nought. Rezin of Damascus indeed gladly joined Pekah, as did Tyre, Sidon, Ashkelon, and Gaza; but the other Syrian states stood aloof. Ahaz of Judah was pro-Assyrian and refused to enter the combination. The allies, recognizing that the only hope of successful resistance lay in the union of all, set about invading Judah and her dependency, Edom, with the intention of dethroning Ahaz and replacing him by a prince of their own choosing. In this crisis neither the Syrian party at Jerusalem nor the assurances of the prophet Isaiah deterred Ahaz from following Menahem in the short-sighted policy of invoking the potent aid of Tiglath-pileser.

To Ahaz, it seemed to involve little more than the temporary payment of tribute. But by his act Ahaz not only made himself and his successors vassals of Assyria, but also, by thus helping the invader break down the remaining barriers between the armies of the Euphrates and the Nile, he hastened the day when his own land should become the battleground for Assyria and Egypt.

In 734 B. C. Tiglath-pileser appeared in the West; his *Annals* tell us of his victorious campaign. Damascus was put under siege, and after two years was captured. Rezin was slain, and the once mighty kingdom of Syria appeared thenceforth only as an Assyrian province. The people of Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Edom, and north Arabia were also punished.

In the meantime it had fared hard with Israel. The Assyrian army had swept north Israel and the territory east of the Jordan, and had taken "Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." As city after city was taken and the Assyrian army drew near to the capital, King Pekah and the anti-Assyrian party lost their hold upon the popular imagination, and the king fell a victim to an Assyrian sympathizer, Hoshea, the son of Elah, who was allowed by Tiglath-pileser to occupy the throne of Israel on condition of vassalage. But what a pitiably crippled remnant Hoshea was to be king over! Zebulon and Naphtali had been carried into captivity; two-thirds of the country had been annexed to Assyria, and there remained only the few square miles lying between the plain of Esdraelon on the north and the Judean frontier on the south, and the Jordan and the Mediterranean on the east and west respectively. The Kingdom of Israel had already received a death-blow; a few struggling gasps and the end came.

For six years Hoshea remained faithful to his suzerain, but upon the death of Tiglath-pileser in 727 B. C. he seemingly joined the general revolt. The dispatch of an Assyrian army into the west speedily brought him to his knees before his new overlord, Shalmaneser; but he was soon in revolt again.

In the olden days, the times of the Hebrew patriarchs, Egypt had been the mistress of Palestine and northern Syria, but with the death



of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the oppression, the empire of the Nile began to crumble; the dependencies were lost, and the country was broken up into a number of mutually hostile principalities. Shabak, the Ethiopian conqueror, was now trying to fuse these little states into a new empire. Under this forceful and ambitious prince Egypt once more aspired to the position of a world-power. In view of the advancing power of Assyria, self-preservation demanded that she take an active interest in the affairs of Palestine; it was a matter of vital importance that the Assyrians should not establish themselves



on her northern frontier. To the restless Israelites Shabak[1] was ready to hold out specious promises of help; and, despite Egypt's evident weakness, there was a growing party in the Israelite capital, which urged throwing off the galling yoke of Assyria and reliance on the assured support of Egypt.

In 725 B. C. Hoshea, leaning on this bruised reed, broke his allegiance to the Assyrians. Since no historical inscriptions of Shalmaneser have as yet been recovered, we are dependent for our information as to what the Assyrian king did in this crisis upon the Book of Kings. It would seem that Shalmaneser, acting with promptness, marched into Palestine, defeated Hoshea's puny force, and carried

[1] The king whom 2 Kings 17:4 speaks of as So, but whose name might be more correctly vocalized *Sewe* (cf. Assyrian *Sib'u*), is probably to be identified with this Egyptian Shabak. Winckler finds here a reference to a prince of the Arabian kingdom of *Muçri*.

him in chains to Nineveh. Hoshea's deluded followers obstinately held Samaria for three years, vainly hoping for Egypt's promised help. By 723 B. C. the doom of the besieged capital had become so apparent that Isaiah and Micah announced to their Judean hearers its speedy fall. In spite of the fine military position of Samaria, it was a hopeless defense; for the investing forces, holding all the fruitful land about the city, at length starved it into submission. As for Egypt, her army did not appear in Palestine until a year or more later, when it met overwhelming defeat at Raphia.

Shalmaneser had died during the prolonged siege and had been succeeded by Sargon II; to him Samaria surrendered early in 721 B. C. Sargon's *Annals*, *Great Khorsabad Inscription*, and *Cylinder Inscription* throw much light on Israel's fate. Twenty-seven thousand and more of the inhabitants were carried off; these were settled in "Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." Later on Sargon "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." To these Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal (Osnapper) added further colonists from the people they subjected in the East; cf. Ezra 4:2, 9, 10.

The foreign element thus introduced soon changed the character of the remnant of the Israelites left in Samaria; and, as for those carried into the east in this deportation and that under Tiglath-pileser, they likewise were in time absorbed by the people among whom they had been colonized. Thus the people of Israel, both those left at home and those carried into captivity, eventually lost their identity as a nation, and the Kingdom of Israel disappeared from the number of the nations of history.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL EPITOME WITH REFERENCES TO SUCH BIBLICAL AND ASSYRIAN TEXTS AS BEAR ON OUR STUDY[2]

740. Tiglath-pileser III (Pul), king of Assyria [745–727]. Arpad taken by Taglath-pileser [cf. Isa. 10:9].

739. Hamath taken by the Assyrians [cf. Isa. 10:9].

[2] A translation of all the Assyrian material here referred to may be found in the pages following, and copies of the original cuneiform inscriptions in Botta, *Monuments de Ninive;* Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character;* Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons;* Pinches, "The Babylonian Chronicle," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XIX, Part 4; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I–V; Rost, *Texte Tiglath-Pilesers III.;* Winckler, *Sargon II.*

738. Calno (Nippur) taken by the Assyrians [cf. Isa. 10:9]. Menahem of Israel and Rezin of Syria tribute-payers to Assyria [2 Kings 15:19; Tiglath-pileser's *Annals;* Rawlinson, III, 9, No. 3, 50–57; Rost, p. 7].

737. Death of Menahem of Israel and accession of Pekahiah [2 Kings 15:23].

735. Death of Pekahiah and usurpation of his throne by Pekah [2 Kings 15:25, 27]. Accession of Ahaz of Judah [2 Kings 15:38]. The plot of Rezin



CLAY TABLET OF TIGLATH-PILESER III

and Pekah to depose Ahaz and place on the throne a certain Ben-Tabeel [2 Kings 16:5; Isa. 7:6]. Ahaz calls upon Tiglath-pileser of Assyria for protection from his foes [2 Kings 16:7, 8; 2 Chron. 28:16].

734–732. Tiglath-pileser in Syria-Palestine. Syria devastated; Rezin besieged for two years in his capital city, Damascus [Layard, pp. 72 and 66; Rost, pp. 12–14]. North-Israel overrun; Tiglath-pileser in 734 B. C. "took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and

Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" [2 Kings 15:29; cf. Isa. 9:1; Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 12–19]. Moab and Ammon punished, as also the Philistines [Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 19–22]. Tiglath-pileser again in Israel; King Pekah conspired against by his servants; assassinated by an Assyrian sympathizer, Hoshea the son of Elah, who is appointed by Tiglath-pileser to the vacant throne [2 Kings 15:30. Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 26–30; Layard, p. 66, 17–19; Rost, pp. 14–37]. The Edomites punished. Samsi, queen of north Arabia, punished for taking part in the rebellion against Assyria [Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 30 f.; Layard, p. 72, 16 f.].

732. Damascus, after a two-year siege, now stripped of her allies, falls. End of the Kingdom of Syria [2 Kings 16:9; Isa. 17:1]. Tiglath-pileser's court at Damascus; King Ahaz (Jehoahaz) of Judah among the numerous subject princes who gather there to do him obeisance [2 Kings 16:10. *The Nimroud Clay Inscription:* Rawlinson, II, 67, 57–62].

729. Tiglath-pileser ascends the throne of Babylon under the name of Pul ("Poros" of the Canon of Ptolemy).

727. Accession of Shalmaneser IV of Assyria.

727. Hoshea of Israel tributary to Assyria [2 Kings 17:3].

725. Hoshea conspires with Shabak (So) of Egypt and with Phœnicia to throw off the Assyrian yoke [2 Kings 17:4]. That the Phœnicians took part in the revolt is stated by Menander, quoted by Josephus [*Antiq. Jud.*, IX, xiv, 2]. Tyre was besieged for five years by Shalmaneser-Sargon [Isa., chap. 23; Sargon's *Cylinder Inscription*, 21: Rawlinson, I, 36; Lyon, p. 3; Winckler, p. 43].

724. Shalmaneser falls suddenly upon Hoshea and takes him prisoner. His capital, Samaria, placed under siege [2 Kings 17:4, 5].

721. Death of Shalmaneser and accession of Sargon. Fall of Samaria after a three-year siege and end of the Kingdom of Israel; Israelite captives, to the number of 27,290, deported and settled in "Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" [2 Kings 17:6, 23. *The Great Khorsabad Inscription*, 23–25: Botta, pp. 45, 1; Winckler, p. 30. Sargon's *Annals*, 10–17: Botta, pp. 79 and 70; Winckler, p. 1]. Later on, in 721, 715, etc., Sargon "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel" [2 Kings 17:24. *The Cylinder Inscription*, 17–20: Rawlinson, I, 36; Lyon, p. 3; Winckler, p. 43].

III. TRANSLATION OF SUCH ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS AS BEAR ON OUR STUDY

TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727 B. C.)

The Annals

(Rawlinson, III, 9, No. 3)

[50]Tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuch, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, [51]Hirom of Tyre, Sibittibi'il of Byblos, Urik of Que (i. e., Cilicia), Pisiris of Carchemish, Enilu [52]of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhular of

Gamgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadilu [53]of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tun, Uraballa of Tukhan, Tukhammi of Ishtund, [54]Urimmi of Khushimna, Zabibi the queen of Arabia: gold, silver, lead, iron, elephants' skin, [55]parti-colored garments, linen (?), violet wool, red-purple wool, terebinth (?) wood, oak (?) wood, everything costly, a royal treasure, fat sheep whose fleeces [56]were dyed red-purple, feathered birds of the heaven whose wings were dyed violet-purple, horses, mules, oxen, sheep, camels,[57] she-camels with their young, I received.

(Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2)

[12]. . . . the city Khatarikka as far as Mt. Sau, [13]. . . . the cities Byblos, Tsimirra, Arqa, Zimarra [14]. . . . the cities Usnu, [Siannu], Ri'raba, Ri'sitsu [15]. . . . cities on the shore of the upper sea, I mastered. Six of my generals [16][as satraps over] them I appointed. The city Rashpuna on the shore of the upper sea [17]. . . . the city Gal' . . . . the city Abilaqqa, which are on the border of the land of Beth-Omri (i. e., Israel) [18][the land of Naphta] li the wide-spread, throughout its extent unto the territory of Assyria I annexed. [19][My generals] as satraps over them I appointed. Hanno of Gaza [20]fled before my arms and escaped to Egypt. Gaza [21][I took; his goods], his treasures, his gods [I carried off] . . . . My royal couch [22]. . . . in the midst of the palace [of Hanno I set up], etc. [26]. . . . The land of Beth-Omri [27]. . . . all of its inhabitants [28][their goods] to Assyria I deported. Pekah, their king, they slew and Hoshea [29][unto the lordship] over them I appointed. Ten talents of gold, ... talents of silver [their heavy treasure] I received from them. [30][To Assyria I de]ported them. Samsi, the queen of Arabia . . . . [31]. . . . I killed, 1,100 people, 30,000 camels, 20,00 oxen . . . . [32]5,000 bundles (?) of herbs, 11 sacrifice cups (?), the possession of her gods . . . . [33]Her property I took from her and she herself to save her life . . . . [34][to the city] Bazil, a place of thirst, like a wild she-ass . . . . [35]. . . . famine overtook the people in the midst of their camp.[36] Before my mighty weapons she bowed and camels and she-camels [37]. . . . before me she brought. An official I placed over her.

(Layard, pp. 72 and 76. Rost, Plates XXII and XXIII, pp. 12–14)

[1]. . . . his (i. e., Rezin's) warriors I captured . . . . I overthrew with my weapons[2] . . . . before him [3]the charioteers and . . . . their weapons I broke in pieces[4] . . . . their horses I seized . . . . his warriors bearing bows . . . . [5]bearing shields and spears, with my hand I cast down and their battle-array[6] . . . . As for himself, to save his life, he fled away alone, and[7] . . . . like a mouse (?) his city gate he entered. His nobles alive [8][with my hand I seized]; on stakes I hung them up. I subjugated his land. Forty-five soldiers of the camp . . . . [9][The gate] of his city I closed, and like a bird encaged I shut him in. His parks [10]. . . . fruit groves innumerable I cut down; a single one I did not leave[11] . . . . Khadara, the house of the father of Rezin of Damascus,[12] [the place where] he was born, I besieged, I took. Eight hundred men together with their goods[13] . . . . their oxen, their sheep, I carried off. Seven hundred and fifty captives of the city Kurutsta[14] . . . . [captives] of the city Irma, five

hundred and fifty captives of the city Mituna I carried off. Five hundred and ninety-one cities[15] . . . . of sixteen districts of Damascus like a deluge I devastated. [16]. . . . Samsi, the queen of Arabia who the oath of Shamash had violated and . . . . [1] the city . . . . [2]to the city Iza [si] . . . . [3][from] Arabia in the territory of Sa [ba'] . . . . [4]in camp . . . . [6]she feared . . . .

[17][The land of Beth-Omri] all the cities I had [subjected] in my former campaign, and . . . . had annexed [to the territory of Assyria] [18]. . . . whose . . . . I carried off. Samaria they left alone and their king [19][they slew]

The Nimroud Clay-Inscription

(Rawlinson, II, 67)

[Tribute] of Kushtasphi of Kummukh, Urik of Que, Sibittibi'il of [Byblos], [En] ilu of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhular of Gamgum, Su [lumal of Melid], ... [Uas]surme of Tabal, Ushkitti of Tun, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukham[mi of Ishtund] . . . . [6o][Ma]tanbi'il the Arvadite, Sanipu the Beth-Ammonite, Salmanu the Moabite . . . . [Mi]tinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Quash-malak of Edom, Mus . . . . [H] anno of Gaza: gold, silver, lead, iron, tin (?), parti-colored garments, linen (?), the red-purple clothing of their country . . . . the product of sea and land, the possession of their country, a royal treasure, horses, mules, the team of a yoke . . . . I received.

Sargon II (722–705 B. C.)

The Babylonian Chronicle

(*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XIX, Part 4, pp. 655 f.; *Zeitschrift der Assyriologie*, 1887, pp. 148 f.)

I.[29] In the fifth year Shalmaneser died, in the month Tebet. [30]For five years Shalmaneser had ruled over Akkad and Assyria. [31]In the month Tebet, on the twelfth day, Sargon sat on the throne of Assyria, [32]and in the month Nisan, Merodach Baladan sat on the throne of Babylon.

The Great Khorsabad Inscription

(Botta, pp. 145 f.; Winckler, pp. 30 f.)

[23]From the beginning of my kingship until the fifteenth year of my reign I accomplished the defeat of Khumbanigash, the Elamite, in the suburb of Dur-ilu.

Samaria I besieged, I took. Twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and ninety of the people dwelling within it I carried off. Fifty chariots in their midst I collected, and the rest I allowed to keep their possessions. My satrap over them I appointed; the tribute of the former king [25]I laid upon them.

Hanno the king of Gaza, with Shabak the tartan of Egypt, had come out against me to the city Raphia to fight and join battle. Their defeat I accomplished. Shabak was afraid of the onset of my weapons and fled, and no trace of him was seen. Hanno the king of Gaza I took prisoner. [27]The tribute of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, Samsi the queen of Arabia, It'amara the Sabean, gold, the products of the mountains, horses, camels, I received.

The Annals

(Botta, pp. 70 71, 79; Winckler, pp. 1, 2)

[10]At the beginning of my kingship, in the first year of my reign[11] . . . . Samaria I besieged, I took (two lines lost). [15]Twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and ninety of the people dwelling within it I carried off. Fifty chariots, as my royal force, in their midst I collected . . . . The people of the lands, captured by my hands, in its (i. e., Samaria's) midst [17] I settled. My general I appointed over them as satrap; and tribute, a gift such as is usual with Assyria, I laid upon them. [23]In the second year of my reign Ilubi'di (called Jaubi'di in the *Khorsabad Inscription*) . . . . [24] . . . . assembled his numerous [troops] at Karkar. The oath . . . . [25] . . . . Arpad, Tsimirra, Damascus, Samaria [he incited to revolt] from me (some thirty or more signs have been lost here). Shabak (*Sib'u*) called his tartan to his aid. To fight[28] and join battle he came out against me. In the name of Ashur, my lord, his defeat I accomplished. Shabak, like a shepherd robbed of his sheep, fled away alone and made his escape. [30]Hanno with my hand I seized and led him bound to my city Ashur. Raphia I laid waste, I destroyed, I burned with fire. Nine thousand and thirty-three men together with their great treasure I carried off.

[94] . . . . of the land Que which Mitâ the king of Muski, had taken away, I captured, I carried off its booty. The people Tamud, [Iba]did, Marsima[n], Khaiap, the far-off Arbai who inhabit the deserts, whom no wise nor learned man knew, who had paid no (?) king their tribute, with the help of Ashur my lord I defeated them and their remnant I carried off and settled in Samaria. From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, It'amra the Sabæan, the kings of the coast [lands] and the desert, I received gold, mountain-herbs (perhaps "products of the mountains"), precious stones, ivory, *ushu*-seed, spices of every sort, horses, camels as their tribute.

The Cylinder Inscription

(Rawlinson, I, 36; Lyon, p. 3; Winckler, p. 43)

[17]The exalted prince, who fought in the suburb of Dur-ilu, etc. . . . . [19]the overthrower of the widespread land of Beth-Omri (i. e., Israel), who at Raphia accomplished the overthrow of Egypt and carried off Hanno, the king of Gaza, his prisoner to Assyria. [20]The captor of the people of Tamud, Ibadid, Marsiman, Khaiap, the remainder of whom were deported and whom he settled in the land of Beth-Omri. [21]The one mighty in battle, who drew the Jamnian out of the midst of the sea (*sandanish?*) like a fish and pacified Que and Tyre.

WHAT SHOULD THE CHURCHES DEMAND OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS?[1]

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In his address before the Religious Education Section of the International Congress of Arts and Science, President Charles Cuthbert Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, asked the following question:

> Shall the teaching of theology continue to be viewed chiefly as the communication to the candidate for a denominational ministry of the formulas of belief authorized by the ecclesiastical tribunal under whose jurisdiction he is to serve? Or shall the primary interest in the teaching of theology be the encouragement and direction of the student in research into the sources of knowledge, and in the co-ordination and use of his findings in whatsoever part of the church he can ultimately enter with moral sincerity and intellectual self-respect?

This question puts into clear and definite form a fact respecting the past of our theological schools and a problem which confronts them today, and on the solution of which the character of their future in no small measure depends. The intellectual atmosphere is changing. The defensive and polemic attitude is giving place to the investigative. There is a tendency to transfer the emphasis of our loyalty to truth from the maintenance of truth received from the past to affirmation of the truth discovered in personal experience, or to search for the truth not yet discovered but believed to be within our grasp. How far are we to go in this direction? What is it reasonable to expect of a theological school of today in reference to its attitude toward the faith of the past and toward the possible new truth of the future?

The question has its legal aspects and its administrative aspects. But behind both these phases of the problem, and demanding primary consideration, is an even more fundamental question: What course is demanded by the highest interests of the truth and the

[1] A paper read before the twenty-second annual session of the Baptist Congress, Louisville, Ky., November 8, 1904, slightly abbreviated.

Kingdom of God? Only when this question is rightly answered shall we be able rightly to face either the legal question, whether, in case of divergence of views from the past, we shall stand by the past and hold our endowments, or maintain our freedom to think and to move at cost, if need be, of voluntarily surrendering some part of our endowments; or the administrative question, whether an instructor should be removed from office when he modifies the views which he held when he was elected.

The question may first be answered negatively.

It is not reasonable or right to demand that the teachings of the school today shall be controlled by the beliefs of the founders of the school. It is not affirmed that the teachings of the school ought not to be those of the founders, but that it is not reasonable to demand that the teachings of the school shall be controlled by those of the founders. We may waive the question whether it is a moral thing for any man to seek by his gift of money, or by his construction of a charter or constitution, to constrain by financial considerations the opinions or convictions of those who are to follow him. We may waive the question whether any man who is in his grave still possesses the right to control the use that is to be made of the money that when he was still alive belonged to him, and whether it was a moral thing for him while still alive to attempt to perpetuate indefinitely his control over the wealth that he had acquired. But one thing is certain; it is clearly an immoral thing for the teachers of today to allow their vision of truth to be in any slightest measure affected, or their convictions to be by so much as a hair's breadth changed, by the fact that the men who gave the money to found or support the school, or who wrote the charter under which they work, held this opinion or that. They must look for truth with unbiased vision, and see it untinted with the color of gold.

Nor is it an expedient thing for those who are outside the school—the church, let us say—to demand that so soon as a teacher has departed from the views of the founders of the school he shall cease to teach. To do so is to stop all progress and anchor us to the past; and this, to state it mildly, is morally inexpedient. It is not denied that a teacher may so far or in such way depart from the views of the past that it would be his duty to withdraw, or even the duty of the

trustees to demand his withdrawal. But, if so, the ground of that action cannot be the mere fact of his departure from the views of the past, but some other characteristic of his teachings; and what that characteristic is, is precisely what we have yet to define.

In the second place, it is not reasonable to demand that the teachings of the school shall be controlled by the beliefs of the churches. For this again is to demand that the teacher in his study shall take as the criterion for his own beliefs, not the answer to the simple question, "What is true?" but the answer to that other one, "What do my brethren at large hold upon this subject?" Moreover, it is to demand that the very men who are set apart from other occupations to devote their time to thought and teaching shall determine the results of their thinking by the opinions of those who are very largely engaged in occupations which give less opportunity for study and investigation. Again, let it be clearly observed what is said: not that the theological schools ought not to teach what the churches believe, or that a theological teacher ought not to consider most carefully the views of his brethren outside the school, and respect their thought as he asks to have his own respected; but that it is not reasonable to demand either that the teacher shall determine his views by those generally held in the churches, or that he shall cease teaching as soon as he departs from these. This is to estop all progress except such as is first made outside the school, and to deny to the teacher all privilege of leadership; it is to deny to the school what it grants to the members of the church outside the school, and to adopt a principle which would place in the teacher's chair, not leaders of thought, but those only who would be content meekly to walk at the rear of the procession.

Nor is it reasonable to demand that the teacher shall believe and teach the same that he believed and taught yesterday. There is a tradition—perhaps a myth—that a distinguished theological professor of this country said late in life: "I thank God I have not changed my mind on a question of theology in forty years." That was doubtless his privilege. But it cannot be morally expedient to demand that all theological teachers shall be of that type. Forty years is a long time in a fast-moving period of history. It is not reasonable, because it is not in the interests of the cause of truth, to

demand that progress shall come only by succession in office through death or resignation.

Nor is it reasonable to demand that the student shall return to the churches believing what he believed when he came up to the school. This, indeed, would be the most absurd demand of all. For it finds its standard, not in the clearest possible vision of the mature scholar, nor in the general consensus of opinion of the denomination, nor in the views which the instructor held when he was appointed and which therefore in a sense received the approval of those who appointed him, but in the immature opinions or convictions of a mind which, however keen and discerning, had, by hypothesis, not as yet devoted any systematic study to the great problems of theology. Happy the man whose early thinking is so discreet or has been so wisely guided that further study only deepens and widens his thought. But it cannot be assumed that all young men are of this kind, and it must be counted not an abnormal thing that men shall undergo considerable changes of view in the course of three or four or five years of study.

But is it then to be affirmed that no one has any right to make any demands upon a theological school, except that each instructor shall teach that which is right in his own eyes, undisturbed by criticism or fear of displacement, however far he may depart from the views of the past or from the beliefs held by his denomination or by the Christian church at large, or whatever the effect of his teaching upon his students in respect of their future usefulness? Are the rights of the founders of a school or their successors limited to filling vacancies caused by death?

It is impossible to give an affirmative answer to these questions. There undoubtedly are positive demands which may legitimately be made upon every school. Doubtless the specific demand that may be made in a given case will depend somewhat upon the constitution, history, and purpose of the particular school. But every school must be recognized as existing to discharge a certain function. Those to whom the school belongs have the right and the duty to demand that it shall perform that function. Nor can it be doubted that this rightful demand may involve limitations upon the liberty which a teacher may fairly exercise, or upon his tenure of office. Insanity or invincible

ignorance would doubtless be regarded as just causes for the removal of a man from a chair of science. Probably a professor of anatomy or therapeutics in a medical school might adopt and insist upon teaching views so unanimously condemned by the consensus of scientific opinions, or so clearly tending to unfit those who received them for their practical work as physicians and surgeons, that it would be necessary to demand his resignation. So also there are doubtless some views in the realm of theology which are so unanimously condemned by all the profounder students of theology, and so manifestly calculated to unfit men for the work of the Christian ministry, that he who held them could not expect or be expected to continue to teach theology save at his own charges. What, then, may we reasonably demand of a school having such a history and constitution as the leading theological schools of our country have had? Let us understand the question as being not simply what is legally permissible, but what is wise and right; what is, in a high sense of the term, expedient.

The answer must be framed in view of the fact that our theological schools were established and are maintained with the chief purpose of training men to be Christian preachers and teachers. It must not be forgotten, indeed, that the history of these schools and the still more imperative law of obligation to serve the interests of the divine kingdom alike demand that these schools shall adapt themselves to the changing needs of successive generations. And this latter principle requires us to recognize that in the present generation these schools must be, as they have been to no small extent in the past, and increasingly as the years have gone by, the homes of investigation in the theological field, schools of research, and, through research, of leadership in theological thought. This they must be if they would most effectively prosecute the task of preparing men for the work of the ministry; this they must be if they would take their natural share in the promotion of intelligence on religious questions in the ministry and the church at large. Yet it remains that in the schools of which we are speaking the chief function of research is to promote effective teaching, and the supreme function of the school is to fit men for the work of the ministry.

This being the case, that which the churches ought to demand of

the seminaries may be summed up in the one expression, an efficient ministry. If the schools send out men who by their residence in the school are fitted to become efficient ministers, they have succeeded. If they do not do this, they have failed. They do not necessarily fail if they send out men whose views of truth have been changed by their residence in the school; whose views are different in some respects from those of the denomination from which they came or to which they go; or who have moved away from the views of half a century ago. They may achieve their purpose most effectively precisely because they do all these things. They may fail precisely by binding themselves to the modes of thought of the past. But they certainly fail if their students are, because of their residence in the school, unfitted for the work of the ministry, if they are rendered inefficient.

But what, then, is efficiency? It is the capacity for achieving results. In the Christian ministry it is the ability to be teachers and leaders in the work of the Christian church. It includes capacity for so presenting religious and moral truth, and so interesting men in the truth and in its application to the problems of life, personal and social, that they shall come to live in harmony with truth, in fellowship with God, and in active co-operation with one another for the welfare of their fellow-men. Such efficiency the churches have a right to expect in the men who go out from the school; and they have the right and the duty to find fault if instead the school sends out men who have no convictions, but only denials or questions; or who are simply men of learning without sympathy with men or power to help them; or who by their residence in the school have lost all religious life and fellowship with God, and so all power to lead other men into such fellowship; in short, if the effect of the work of the school is to produce, not efficiency in the ministry, but incapacity and inefficiency.

The test of efficiency must not be invalidated by the assumption at the outset that they only can be efficient who accept a certain narrowly defined scheme of doctrine, nor must the decision be based on a few exceptional cases. Progress in thought, real progress, may result in a temporary ill-adjustment between the graduates of a school and the churches, which for a time may seem to impair, or actually impair, efficiency. This has always been the case in every forward,

as well as in every backward, movement. A reasonable time must be allowed in which to discover whether the impairment of efficiency is permanent or is to give place to increased efficiency. In a transition period in theological thinking some men are likely to lose their grasp upon the older thought without gaining a hold upon the new, and find themselves without that strength and clearness of conviction which are needful to the highest efficiency. But such occurrences cannot be accounted decisive considerations. Refusal on the part of a school to take account of the progress of thought and knowledge in the field of theology and in kindred fields likewise results in maladjustment to environment, perplexity, loss of conviction, and impaired efficiency. Inability to accept theological views framed in the past and still taught in the schools has, it may be safely affirmed, driven far more men out of the ministry into other occupations than have ever been led to abandon the ministerial office because of the undue modernizing of our theological schools. One needs but to know the history of the last twenty-five years to perceive that a very considerable change of doctrine in matters which, when the suggestion of change was first made, were felt to be vital, may occur not only without diminution of real efficiency, but even with increase of effectiveness. The well-established results of history must, of course, be taken into account. What has clearly been shown in the past to produce inefficiency cannot fairly demand a fresh opportunity to show to what results it leads. But neither must the views of today be hastily branded with the names of old heresies, nor the fact forgotten that not views only, but conditions also, must be taken into account in considering what has in the past contributed to efficiency or inefficiency. The test of efficiency must be made broadly and reasonably.

But may not a theological school legitimately set for itself a more specific purpose than has been indicated above? May it not, for example, take as the scope of its work the preparation of men for the ministry of a particular denomination, or even of a particular denomination in a particular region of country? And will not such a specific definition of its purpose affect its definition of efficiency? To these questions it must doubtless be answered that the definition of efficiency will be affected by the specific purpose of the school, and that it is both legitimate and necessary, so long as the conceptions which

Christian men form of Christianity vary as greatly as they do today, that certain schools exist with a more specific purpose than the preparation of men for the Christian ministry without reference to denomination or region of country. In a school of scope thus limited the test of efficiency will doubtless include the inquiry whether the men who come from the school are as a class fitted to serve the churches of a particular denomination, or in a particular region, and successfully lead them forward in the work for which they exist. But into this phase of the matter it is not necessary now to enter. The proposition here maintained is a simple one—that, whatever the precise scope of the school, the morally expedient, and therefore the right, thing is, not for the churches to demand that the teachers of the school shall hold or teach this or that, but that the tendency and effect of the school's work shall be to produce an efficient ministry; not to place their teachers under bonds to choose between standing still in their thinking and surrendering their chairs, but, granting them freedom of thought and freedom of teaching, hoping indeed and praying that there may come to them larger light, and that under the leadership of the Spirit of God they may lead men into that fulness of truth which the church has not yet fully apprehended, and into that liberty of the truth which Christ has promised shall make us free—granting them, I say, freedom of thought and teaching, shall limit such freedom only by the requirement that the effect of their teaching shall be to produce an efficient ministry, able to lead men into larger apprehension of truth, purer moral purpose, higher moral achievement.

This is the test that the words of Jesus himself suggest. It was of religious teachers that he said: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The truth that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree good fruit, does indeed cut both ways, bidding us to see to it that our hearts are pure that our lives may be good, and to test our hearts, that even we ourselves but imperfectly know, by our lives that we can see. But the application that Jesus made of it to teachers was not that we should prognosticate the character of the fruit by our judgment of the doctrine, but that we should infer the character of the teaching from the results in life.

The test of efficiency is, moreover, the test that the churches are

really most competent to apply. To weigh moral values is far easier than to enter into the merits of a great doctrinal discussion, the very terms of which often require prolonged study to define. Are the men who are going out from a given school helping men to live purer, stronger, more noble, and more helpful lives; are they men who, from their fellowship with God, lead their people into such fellowship and into consequent holy and helpful living? Of this the churches can judge. But a new conception of the nature of revelation, a new thought concerning the meaning and effect of the death of Christ, a new valuation of Christian experience as a factor in the determination of doctrine, a new point of approach to the whole theological problem, to decide whether these constitute a forward step in our apprehension of truth or a retreat into darkness—none will claim that this is an easy task. What the churches need is an efficient ministry. Whether they are obtaining such a ministry they are competent to decide, if only there be reasonable time for a fair test. This which they need, this of which they are able to judge, they have a right to demand. Let them apply the test of Jesus: "By their fruits shall ye know them."

Into the question what are the necessary characteristics of a school that is to produce an efficient ministry limits of space forbid us to go at length. Four such characteristics may be barely named:

A spirit of work. The time which the student can spend in the theological school is at best all too short in which to obtain the knowledge which he needs to possess and the methods of work of which he must be master; to state the problems which he must face, and if possible begin to solve; to reach the convictions with which he must be equipped if he is to be an efficient minister of the gospel. Hours of quiet, seasons of reflection and deliberation—these are eminently desirable, but only that in them the student may do his finest work. If anywhere in this twentieth century there is a place for the idle and the slothful, that place is certainly not in the theological school that is set to fit men for an efficient ministry.

Freedom of thought: hospitality for every question that thinking minds raise concerning religion, morality, and the life of the spirit, and an open door into every field of investigation. It is not to be denied that a certain kind of efficiency has been produced and can be produced in the atmosphere of repression of thought.

But the place for the type of mind which such an atmosphere generates is becoming smaller every day, and every day there is greater need of men whose efficiency is achieved, not through the shutting of their eyes, but through the opening of them.

A spirit of mutual helpfulness. The ministry is a service. He that is servant of all is greatest of all. He is most efficient who serves most effectively. And the school that is to prepare men for such effectiveness must itself be pervaded by a spirit of mutual helpfulness. The theological school of today is no scholars' retreat in which the professor may lose himself in his books and his writings, unless precisely by that losing himself he becomes the most efficient servant of the student. It is no place for the student to cultivate a self-centered type of piety that chastens and refines its own soul, forgetful of the needs of others.

Finally, the school that would make efficient ministers must be characterized by a deeply religious spirit, an atmosphere of reverence for truth and of self-sacrificing determination to follow it; of high valuation of men and a sincere desire to help them; of participation in the spirit of him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many; of fellowship with God, his Father and ours.

And precisely upon the school of today, with its freedom of thought and its investigative spirit, does this necessity rest most heavily. He who had but to learn the creed of his denomination or the ritual of his sect—he might perhaps be under less solemn obligation to live religiously while he learned. But he who faces for himself the great problems of religion, and on the basis of the interpretation of the facts of religious experience finds out religious truths and forges out religious convictions—for him a deep religious experience is indispensable, and indispensable precisely in his student days.

A school that possesses and maintains these characteristics can scarcely fail to produce an efficient ministry. Let the churches demand such a ministry; let the seminaries have freedom to produce it.

JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

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The apocalyptic literature of the Jews had its most flourishing growth in the period which begins with the Maccabean struggle and closes with the uprising under Hadrian, from 168 B. C. to 132 A. D., a period of three hundred years. But apocalyptic began earlier. It appears in the Old Testament, notably in portions of Isaiah, in Zephaniah, in Ezekiel, and in Joel; and it continued in some degree, both in the synagogue and in the Christian church, far down into the Middle Ages.

What is the general relation which the apocalyptic writings sustain to other Hebrew and Jewish literature? It is frequently said that the two poles of Judaism were legalism as represented by the scribes, and messianism as represented in the apocalyptic literature. This distinction, however, should not be pressed too far. The life of a people, just as truly as the life of an individual, has its currents, but it is not divided in water-tight compartments; each phase reacts upon every other phase. Thus Jubilees, which is a haggadic commentary on the book of Genesis, and the Pirkê Aboth, which is an epitome of the halachic phase of Jewish thought of this period, though both from the legalistic phase of Judaism, not infrequently refer to certain fundamental notions of apocalyptic. Although laying great stress on the strict observance of the law and its importance for the individual and the community, the strictest legalist demanded a condition and a time free from the oppression and distractions of those who opposed the law. The messianic time was a necessity as well as an opportunity for the fulfilment of his ideal observance of the law.

It is well known that questions concerning the future life, resurrection, and judgment were the subject of frequent discussion in the schools of Hillel and Shammai.[1] The scribe is the successor of the

[1] Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Vol. I, pp. 15, 16.

sage. The literary activity of the priest had ceased when the Torah had been finally completed, and the scribe, instead of basing his observations upon the universal experience of mankind—as the wise men, or sages, had done—greatly narrows his horizon and moves within the territory of the law which the literary activity of the priest had furnished. But he did not ignore the prophetic literature; he simply placed his emphasis elsewhere.

With the apocalyptist precisely the converse was true. There is nothing to indicate that he rejected or even ignored the nomistic phase of thought represented by the scribe. There are many indications, on the contrary, that he heartily indorsed it. Thus Daniel, Enoch, Moses, Baruch, and all the other heroes of apocalyptic were noted for their piety and strict observance of the commands of Jehovah as expressed in the law. His chief emphasis was, however, upon a circle of ideas which had to do with the future. Apocalyptic is the expression of a certain phase of the messianic hope of the Jewish people. As a phase of messianism it connects itself with the prophetism of the earlier periods of Israel's history in which that hope received literary expression. But while apocalyptic thus connects itself with certain prophetic conceptions, particularly with those which center around the concept expressed in the term "Day of Jehovah," it does not express the full messianic hope of Judaism. We must, as a matter of fact, divide the messianic expectation of Judaism into two general divisions. The one finds expression in the apocalyptic literature, and the other has its classical expression in the Psalms of the Pharisees, chap. 17. It is this latter which most nearly expresses the old prophetic hope and may be said fairly, I think, to represent the conservative messianism of this period—conservative as respects its previous historical development, but not as respects its effect from a social point of view. For with it (whether as a distinct phase or as a necessary consequence we need not stop now to inquire) we must connect the expectations and wild uprisings of the Zealots which so frequently occurred in this period. The features of this phase of the hope Bousset enumerates as follows:

> A kingdom of God whose coming meant the punishment of the heathen, the destruction of the heathen world-powers, and the freeing of the land of Palestine from the yoke of the foreigner, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, a

Messiah of the stock of David, the regathering of the Diaspora, and the subjugation of the heathen under the yoke of Jerusalem.[2]

In contrast with this genuinely prophetic messianism, apocalyptic represents a distinct advance. Although the same central theme appears in each, the apocalyptic presents that theme not only in a peculiar literary form, but also in somewhat distinct terminology. The departure of this general circle of concepts from the older messianic thought is so wide and fundamental that it has been suggested that we are here dealing with a thought which is off the main line of development. As long ago as 1857, Hilgenfeld[3] suggested that in this literature we have to do with the messianic hope as it existed among the Essenes. This is also the view of some scholars today,[4] notably among Jewish writers. According to Porter,[5] this is the usual view of Jewish scholars, e. g., Graetz, Montefiore, and Schechter. The latter has expressed the opinion that this literature represents a fringe of Jewish thought, and doubts if the rabbis ever heard of these writings. The suggestion for this position is to be found in Josephus's description of the Essenes.[6] He describes them as reading the books of the ancients and making use of those which are good for the soul. They also inquire, he says, after roots and medicine-stones. The members preserve the books belonging to the sect and also the names of the angels. They also believe in good and bad souls, and a different fate for each after death. Many of them also foretell things to come by reading holy books and using several sorts of purifications, being also perpetually conversant with the prophets. Anyone who is acquainted with the apocalyptic literature cannot fail to see in these words of Josephus much that agrees with certain parts of that literature. The only difficulty is that these are not distinctive tenets of the Essenes, but are characteristics of Pharisaism as well. There is not sufficient historical support for denying that the Essenes were

[2] The Messiah in the book of Jubilees, so far as there is one, and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, springs not from the stock of David, but from Judah or Levi.

[3] *Die jüdische Apocalyptik.*

[4] Thompson, *The Books Which Influenced Our Lord and His Apostles.*

[5] Art. "Apocrypha," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

[6] *Wars*, II, viii, 6–12.

interested in apocalyptic; but, on the other hand, there is no real historical support for attributing its origin to them.

Those who find the origin of this literature among the Essenes are for the most part writers who see in Essenism a large infusion of oriental influence. With this latter element of Essenism they would connect the apocalyptic literature. It is most probable, however, that Essenism is for the most part only a superlative form of Pharisaism, as some of the best authorities hold.[7] Schürer speaks not only for himself, but for many others, when he says: "The standpoint of apocalyptic is essentially the correct Jewish one."

If, then, the apocalyptic literature stands within the main current in the development of Jewish messianism, and yet represents a phase somewhat distinct and progressive, it is necessary to inquire more closely after those features which characterize it.

The purpose of the apocalyptic writer is well recognized. He was not a speculative philosopher, nor was he a pedant. He was concerned with the future, with visions and revelations which he announced, not for their own sake, but for the sake of the community in which he lived. Just as prophecy in the older Israel was strongest in times of national stress and danger, if indeed not largely confined to such times, so also is it true that apocalyptic itself follows the same law. This becomes clear when we glance for a moment at the groups into which the literature may be divided. Thus we have the book of Enoch, the book of Daniel, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, falling within the Maccabean and Asmonean periods. The Psalms of the Pharisees, in so far as they are touched by this spirit, fall in the period of the wars with Pompey and the civil wars which engaged Palestine at that time. In the Herodian and post-Herodian times we have the Assumption of Moses, and certain portions of the book of Enoch (chaps. 37–71, according to Baldensperger).[8] Then with the war of 70 A. D. we have the apocalypse of Baruch, fourth Esdras, and possibly some minor writings, not to mention the apocalyptic of Christian origin. The apocalyptist wrote in times of severe suffering and danger in his community.

[7] Schürer, Regeffe (*La secte des Esséniens*, and Conybeare, art. "Essenes" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[8] Bousset thinks that apocalyptic receded in this period.

His purpose was to encourage the people to steadfastness and fidelity to Jehovah and his law, and to rekindle their dying hope for the future. It was not so much the purpose which distinguished the writing, as the form in which he expressed himself.

What, now, are the characteristics of the form of the apocalyptic literature? It is frequently referred to as the pseudepigrapha,[9] or pseudepigraphic prophecy,[10] as if this were a term which would sufficiently distinguish it. It is quite just to speak of it so, for it is almost invariably pseudonymous. Thus we have the book of Daniel, the book of Enoch, the Secrets of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Ezra, the Apocalypse of John, and the Ascension of Isaiah, all of which are, in part or in whole, pseudepigrapha. But it cannot be said that pseudonymity is a distinguishing characteristic of this literature. The same feature belongs also to writings in the Old Testament canon. The Pentateuch is pseudonymously ascribed to Moses. We have a second Isaiah, the second Zechariah, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Psalms of David. Certain leading critics tell us that only portions of Jeremiah are genuine, that all the prophets have received large additions, and that perhaps no prophecy received its present written form until after the exile. Moreover, in the literature approximately contemporary with the apocalyptic writings the same feature appears. We have the Wisdom of Solomon, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which, though truly pseudonymous, cannot properly be called apocalypses. The book of Jubilees claims to have been written at Mount Sinai by Moses under the direction of the angels, and the Pirke Aboth opens with the declaration that the oral tradition current among the rabbis had been handed down in unadulterated form from Moses. The fact is, pseudonymity is simply a literary characteristic of the whole period; it characterizes no particular class of literature.

"Eschatological" is another term which is sometimes used to distinguish this apocalyptic literature. It is usually either explicitly or by implication used as antithetic to ethical. This was especially true of Lücke who, in 1832, in his introduction to the Apocalypse of John, gave the first real results in the study of this literature. This

[9] Deane and Charles. [10] Schürer.

phase has also been emphasized by Charles and by Torrey. Both this literature and the prophets (they reason) deal with the same general conception—the kingdom of God. The prophets are said to use this in an ethical, and the apocalyptists in an eschatological, sense. Even when no reference is made to the prophets, it is said that the apocalyptist is an eschatologist rather than an ethicist. The antithesis is false. Certain concepts of the prophets were eschatological in reference, but were also ethically conceived, and not infrequently the ethical element is very strong in the apocalyptic. "Eschatology" is a term which is used to define a certain circle of ideas, and does not properly indicate either their form or their quality. It is not so much the circle of ideas which distinguishes apocalypse from prophecy as it is the manner in which those ideas are conceived and expressed. Certain parts of apocalypse have reference, not to the future, but to the past.

Good examples of this are Enoch, chaps. 20–36, 60, 72–78. In chap. 85 of Enoch there is a highly apocalyptic description of visions with strong symbolic imagery, but those visions refer to the past. Indeed, in certain parts of Enoch (especially in chaps. 1–36) the apocalyptic feeling becomes less intense the more directly the vision pertains to the future, and the same is true of the Assumption of Moses, chaps. 8, 9. Eschatology does belong to apocalyptic literature, but it neither characterizes nor distinguishes it.

Schürer has said that the distinctive feature of the apocalypse is that the message is announced in the form of a *supernatural revelation or a vision*. Here again there is truth in the observation. Daniel had his visions in the nighttime; Enoch was carried aloft by the angel and guided through the heavens; Baruch had his visions during prayer; John was in the spirit on the Lord's day and saw wonderful things; and Ezra marveled at the great things he saw. But the vision or supernatural revelation is not an invariable accompaniment of that which we call apocalypse. The Assumption of Moses is not a vision; its apocalyptic portion is given in the form of a true prophetic announcement. The apocalyptic discourses of the gospels do not purport to be visions or supernatural revelations, but are given in the form of prediction based on the simple foreknowledge of the events which they describe. Though the epistles of Paul contain

passages which are truly apocalyptic in form, they are not connected with visions, and he refers to the latter in 2 Cor. 12:1 ff. only to declare that the things he saw are not to be told. Nor are such visions to be found only in this later apocalyptic. Isaiah, chap. 6, Ezekiel, chaps. 1, 8, 40–48, and a large portion of Zechariah are in the form of visions.

The essence of apocalypse has also been said by some to be the certainty that the end of the present age is near.[1] It is true that in most of the apocalypses the writer does hold this view, but it is not an invariable or necessary accompaniment. The Similitudes of Enoch, which are a classic expression of apocalyptic, lay no emphasis upon this point. It does not seem to be implied in the apocalyptic section of the Assumption of Moses, and is not a point of emphasis in the Apocalypse of Baruch. It may serve as a partial explanation of the occasion of any single writer, but as a characterization of the whole literature it is deficient. The writers of the various apocalypses could offer all the greater encouragement because they believed that the fortunes of the people were happily to change so soon; but this would not of necessity influence at all the method by which they received their message or the form in which that message was expressed. A part of the same view is expressed by Charles and Behrmann, who think that the apocalyptist was essentially a pessimist. This again is in many instances true, perhaps uniformly so; but even a superficial examination must show that this itself is not fundamental and determinative in the production of apocalypse.

In the enumeration and discussion of these various features which are alleged to characterize apocalyptic it must become apparent that no little confusion prevails. To one man apocalyptic is purely a matter of literary form, and has to do only with obscure and highly fantastic imagery; to another it is a matter of the manner in which the writer or author secures his message; to another it is a matter of his religious philosophy. The confusion arises because a proper discrimination is not made between the characteristics of apocalyptic and its origin, between the facts which explain the origin of any given piece of apocalyptic literature, and those which are necessary

[1] So Smend in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1885, and Behrmann in the *Hand-Kommentar* on Daniel.

to explain the origin of that distinct form of literature as a whole to which the name apocalyptic is given.

It is recognized by all scholars that apocalyptic literature is not a *de novo* creation; that, in fact, its writers are not creators at all, but that in a very large sense they make use of traditional material. Whether that tradition be historically true, or whether it be without any basis in fact, is a matter of indifference. It is only necessary that the traditions exist, that they be currently accepted among the people, in order to receive recognition and incorporation in apocalyptic. In view of this fact, several suggestions have been made as to the origin of this literature. Gunkel has with great minuteness and elaboration attempted to show the influence of the Babylonian mythological thought upon apocalyptic. In this he has been followed by a large number of writers, and it is not improbable that some place must be made for such influence. Professor Torrey[12] has allowed large place, not only to the Babylonian, but also to Egyptian and Greek influences. The latter has received large recognition by Professor Mathews,[13] who says:

> One cannot be far from the truth if he considers the apocalypse the exposition of the day of Jehovah in a literary form resulting from the Hellenistic influences under which the Jews lived even from before the days of Alexander. This influence was both philosophical and æsthetic. Of philosophy was born wisdom, and of æsthetics was born apocalyptic. Greek influence always prompted a people to some form of æsthetic expression, but the new art, in so far as it was not simply imitative, was determined by a people's past. As the Greek turned to marble and bronze and canvas, as the media in which to perpetuate his anthropomorphic symbols of truth and hope, the Jew, fearing to make to himself any graven image, used language for his statues and his paintings. Utterly lacking in a knowledge of technique, hardly venturing to look at a Greek god or goddess, deficient in the very elements of art, he painted his word-pictures as he had seen the uncouth monsters of Egypt and Assyria. His symbols became strange creatures with eagles' wings and lions' bodies, legs of brass and feet of clay. Unity was as lacking in the composition of his pictures as in their units. Bulls and buffaloes and sheep and goats and birds and shepherds jostled each other in his visions, and the fixed order of nature was unhesitatingly reversed.

Whether this is intended to be an explanation of anything more than the purely literary feature I cannot of certainty say, but it seems

[12] Art. "Apocalyptic Literature" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

[13] *Biblical World*, January 1902.

to me distinctly inadequate for the explanation of the origin of apocalyptic. There seems much more historical basis for the view that we are to see in this literature a very large Persian influence. It is not possible here to enter into a discussion, or even an enumeration, of the parallels which exist between Jewish and Persian eschatology, and particularly as it affected apocalyptic. Bousset lays great emphasis upon this element, and holds that the apocalyptic thought is clearly shown to be due to outside influence, and not a natural development upon old prophetic messianism by the existence of the so-called *Zwischenreich* (interregnum) which is to be found in this thought. He interprets this to be an artificial effort to connect the old thought with this later one.

While we must recognize a large outside influence in the development of this literature, it certainly is true that its real origin must be sought within the development of Judaism itself. This has been recognized by Torrey, Charles, Schürer, and especially by Baldensperger. The latter's treatment is less open to criticism than any other, fundamentally speaking, but they all seem singularly to have failed to grasp the point which really explains its origin.[14] This is really due to the natural development of the conception of God and his relation to the world which took place in Judaism. This development itself may have been largely affected by outside influences, but with that we are not here concerned. It is a well-known fact that, according to the popular conception in Israel before the exile (and probably it was largely true after the exile), Jehovah was conceived as a national God, and no true monotheism existed. The intense particularism which existed in the community would tend to emphasize this conception. It may well be doubted whether the conception of monotheism was thoroughly developed until a very late period. The messianism of the people of course received its character in large degree from their conception of God. The same is true of the apocalyptist. To him God or Jehovah had become the only God. His power extended not only over Israel and Israel's enemies, but over the entire universe. Even the spirits which were intermediary between God and man, and the

[14] To call it a reinterpretation of prophecy (Schürer, Smend, Baldensperger) gives at most a *motive*, not the *cause*.

planets in their courses, were subject to his will. Jehovah was the God of the universe. This accounts for the universal character which the messianic hope of the apocalyptist assumed as it concerned itself with the final ushering in of Jehovah's kingdom and the treatment which should be accorded the friends and the enemies of Jehovah. I have already said that the popular hope was more or less conservative. From the point of view which we have now reached, it will be seen that it represented simply the persistence of the old hope and the failure to reorganize that expectation on the basis of the new and larger doctrine of God which had been developed. The apocalyptist was the progressive man who reconstructed his hope in accordance with the more developed conception. That this is a probable explanation seems supported by the fact that, while his outlook was universal, yet the center of all his thought is still Israel and its fortunes. Upon all her oppressors and her enemies, whether on earth or above the earth, the most dreadful evils are sure to fall.

A second element in the development concerned itself with the holiness of Jehovah. It is at least as probable as any other suggestion that the root idea of the word "holiness" is that of separation. At any rate, in Judaism there developed a conception that Jehovah was far away and above the present world, not in contact with the world either of nature or of men. His will had been finally and unalterably made known to them in the Torah, and to discover that will it was necessary to study the Torah. In addition to this Torah, special messages and communications were given to men by angels or by spirits, and occasionally he had direct communication with a particularly righteous man immediately through his Holy Spirit, though this idea is very sporadic. He lived in a world distinct, far-removed, transcendental. In the midst of the distresses and torments of this life Israel's spirit often failed, and the people desired to know more definitely his purposes with respect to their fortune. But since he no longer was in direct communication with men, any message from him must come in the form of a vision or of a supernatural revelation, for his world was distinct from this one. The conception of his holiness and of the holiness he required of his children was more or less formal. In addition to this, the evil which oppressed them from without

tended to deaden the sense of the evil within; which accounts for the absence of ethical feeling (for the most part) from these apocalypses. This manifests itself in two ways: negatively in the non-recognition of any defection on the part of the chosen or elect ones; and positively, in the delight which the writers manifest as they contemplate the dreadful suffering and torture of their enemies. In these respects they are simply the mouthpiece of their community. The pessimistic tone as respects the present world receives also its explanation at this point. It was not the intense ethical feeling or the superior moral insight which caused the apocalyptist to look upon the world as hopelessly alienated from Jehovah and resting under his wrathful condemnation. It was rather the particularism of the Jewish community, coupled with the oppression and afflictions it was compelled to undergo at the hands of all other people.

In this connection also we are able to understand the mysteriousness which surrounds the predictions of these apocalyptists, to which several writers have referred. If this world of which they spoke, and in which he dwelt whose purposes they described, was a transcendent world, it was a world beyond their experience. There was nothing in their experience by which to check it, and the intensity of their hope induced them to paint it in the most glowing colors. The only source upon which they could draw was their imagination, and to it they gave free rein. The fantastic imagery in which they clothed their thought seems to have been taken from those symbols and figures with which they had become most familiar. The figures and animals which are to be seen in the architecture of that time, with which they may have come into contact, are just such composite creatures and fantastic images as they make use of. These facts seem ample to account for the use of the extreme symbolism of these writings. But, in addition to this, there is perhaps one fact which would cause the witless to exercise their ingenuity and which would quicken their imagination. These writings, as shown, were put forth in times of oppression and persecution, and were intended to encourage the elect by showing that the oppressors were soon to meet their fate. It was a matter of necessity for the safety, not only of the writers, but of the readers, that this message be expressed in terms which only the initiated could comprehend. As already indicated,

these apocalyptic writings make large use of traditional material, and much may have been clear to their readers which is to us in confusion.

In the light of the purpose the pseudonymous character of these writings is to be understood. It was the belief among the Jews that there existed no prophet in Israel, as the writer of Psalm 74 says: "There is no more any prophet, neither is there among us any that knoweth how long. How long, O God, shall the adversary reproach? Shall the enemy blaspheme thy name forever?" But (they would reason) it must have been true that the old prophet knew these things. The psalm had become canonized, and, according to the notions of that day, canonization carried with it a verbal inspiration. Thus the prophets were again studied for their message concerning the future. As Dan. 9:2 says, he had studied the book, and had found out the end and the meaning of Jeremiah's prophecy. But, in addition to this reinterpretation of the canonical prophets, there were those who must have believed themselves inspired to reproduce lost and more explicit revelation. In accordance with this we have the four chief apocalypses of the classical period: Daniel, Enoch, Baruch, and Ezra. These men, from whom no prophecies had come down, stood high in the traditions of the people. To them must have been revealed these things. If, for example, Enoch had walked with God, he must have seen all those things; he must have seen where God dwelt—his throne, his servants, his ministers; must have been at his court; have been guided by an angel; have received revelation concerning Jehovah's purposes with respect to Israel. These had been kept secret, just precisely as the writer of the book of Jubilees declares had been the case with that book, and it was now the fortune of the writer to be chosen of Jehovah to make those revelations known to the people. The weight of the great names in Israel would be a guarantee of the truth of the message and bring to the readers all the greater comfort. Contributing to the same end was also the fact that this end was so near; it was at the very door. Was it not guaranteed by the fact that everything else which the original seer had predicted had already come to pass? If everything which had been promised up to this time had occurred just as it was foretold, could not their courage and their hope hold them steady now until the end which was so speedily drawing nigh?

This seems to me to be, in brief, the origin of Jewish apocalyptic. That the thoughts which find expression in it may have been in many cases due to outside influences there is no desire to deny. The point upon which insistence has been made is that the apocalyptic itself is a natural development in the soil of Judaism based upon the growing conception of the fundamental element in the Jewish religion.

OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY[1]

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This volume appeared a little over a year ago. Students looked forward to its appearance with much expectation. Its author had done great things. It was known that the subject of these lectures had been the "favorite study" of Professor Davidson for forty years. Moreover, it is this series of lectures, given with modifications year after year to theological students, that has in large measure brought about "the changed attitude of all the churches in Scotland to biblical science" within these last twenty years or so. The editor is right, therefore, in saying that, "apart from its intrinsic value as the work of a great scholar and thinker, this book must always occupy a unique place in the history of Scottish theology."

Is the book an important one? Does it meet our expectations? The writer of this review examined the book immediately upon its appearance, for the purpose of presenting it to the readers of the *Biblical World*. The result of this first reading was disappointing; so much so that, not wishing to say anything that was not commendatory, no statement has thus far been made. After a period, the writer has again studied the book more carefully, and especially to find out for himself the occasion of the disappointment which followed the first reading. As a matter of fact, the characteristics which before seemed weak and unsatisfactory now appear to represent that very strength which we all knew the author to possess. The thought was so simple in its presentation, the process of reasoning so straightforward and convincing, that it required a second examination to appreciate its value.

The striking characteristics are (1) this simplicity, which is indeed marvelous; (2) the absence of everything that savors of pretense or show of learning (note the editor's effort in the preface to explain the

[1] *Old Testament Prophecy*, by the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; edited by J. A. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

almost total absence of reference to, or quotation of, other authorities); (3) the purpose and plan of the lectures, viz., to open up a most intricate and delicate series of problems to persons who (*a*) have never given any considerable amount of thought to the subject, and (*b*) have thought along entirely wrong lines in so far as they have given it any attention. This is exactly the condition in which the young man comes to the theological seminary, not only in Scotland, but also in America.

The lectures, from a pedagogical point of view, are a work of art. The author had not studied in vain such Old Testament prophets as Amos and Hosea. He had not only imbibed their thought and spirit; he had adopted their consummate method. No more skilful presentation of the great Isaianic question (pp. 242–62) to novices in biblical science was ever made. No more adroit handling of that much-abused term "higher criticism" was ever exhibited. Listen to him: "All criticism is really an application of the principles of common sense by a person provided with the requisite knowledge of facts (p. 243);" and again: "all that sound criticism implies, whether higher or lower, is a competent knowledge of the facts, good judgment, and perhaps a certain tact and instinctive sense, which only great familiarity with language and style can supply."

His general position is openly and strongly that of the historical school; but he omits the unnecessary detail which many writers, over-influenced by the German method of presentation, feel compelled to include. The absence of all this was at first disturbing; but when a truer understanding of his design was obtained, what before had seemed a shortcoming now came to be indeed an evidence of superiority.

The student of prophecy will find an exposition, of the clearest kind, of that difficult question of the *fulfilment* of prophecy relating to the Jews, with a careful classification of the various views entertained by different schools of opinion (pp. 468–500). Nothing can be more satisfactory than his description of the prophetic style, and his showing that

> the true way to regard prophecy is to accept it literally as the meaning of the prophet—the only meaning which in his time he could have—but to say, as to fulfilment, that the form of the Kingdom of God is now altered, and altered

finally, never to return to its old form; and so fulfilment will not take place in the form of the prediction, but in an altered form; but still the truth of the prophecy will, no doubt, be realized.

To some students of prophecy it will appear that Professor Davidson has not distributed his material in due proportion, giving as he does so much space to the times which really preceded the rise of true prophetism. It may be thought, also, that so full a treatment of "Types and Symbols" (pp. 193–244) was not needed in a modern treatment of prophecy. In his classification of the prophets from Amos on, and in the summary which he gives of their teaching, it may be objected, not only that he seems to minimize the subject by thus throwing them all together, but also that he fails to bring out the distinctive position of each prophet in his relation to the others. Some, likewise, will hardly agree with him in certain details, e. g., in the treatment of Ps. 72 as having been written by Solomon (p. 281); and others, perhaps, will suggest that his very suggestive chapter on "The False Prophets" (pp. 285–308) should have contained a recognition of the first date of separation between true and false prophets in the wonderful episode of Micaiah ben Imlah (2 Kings 22:11 ff.). But in all this, we must remember, Professor Davidson is dealing with his subject having a certain class of persons in mind. This is not a treatise on Old Testament prophecy to be read by a few distinguished scholars in England, Germany, and America. It is a pedagogically constructed *opening up* of the problems of prophecy, for minds not accustomed to deal with the subject in a technical way, and for minds already filled, in so far as they are filled at all, with a good deal of real nonsense on the subject.

It is worth while to consider whether a body of lectures which has already performed so large a service to the cause of true religious education cannot in this published form accomplish results of great importance. This book should be used as a textbook in every theological seminary; it should be made the basis of work in ten thousand Bible classes. It is not too much to say that anyone who can listen intelligently to an average sermon can read just as intelligently this important work.

Does some man wish to know just what are the results of higher criticism when applied to prophecy? Let him read this book; and then let him form his estimate of the higher criticism.

A CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF SIN

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Sin seems to many to be a forgotten fact of human experience. Vice which violates the laws of health is visible. Crime which disrupts the social order is manifest and condemnable. But sin—a moral state—which separates the soul from God, and which is the source of suffering and sorrow, is something of which men are insensible. There is a superficial confession of human imperfection, but there is not a profound conviction of sin. Many things have conduced to produce this state of mind. The scientific view of man as a creature evolving from a lower to a higher state, the sociological conception of man as part of a community whose solidarity shapes his character, and the theological idea of man as a child of God to whom the Father owes love and care, all contribute to lessen the sense of individual responsibility, of personal accountability for choice, and of guilt for wrong character or conduct.

Sin formerly was considered as a fall from a higher to a lower state, as transgression of prohibitory law, as guilt whose punishment should be imprisonment and torment. The fall of man, original sin, actual transgression, and eternal punishment were themes for the pulpit and truths for the people. But men who regard themselves as evolving from a lower to a higher state, as part of a community whose sentiments, principles, and practices shape their individual choice and courage, and as children to whom God is a Father rather than a King, are not deeply impressed by doctrines of sin which once profoundly influenced men.

It is not the present purpose to deny the doctrines of the past. Obviously, however, the doctrines of sin and punishment which have been taught by the Christian church were conceived and formulated by men whose ideas of the universe, of God's relation to creation, of the origin of man, of the divine purpose in permitting evil, and of the conditions of salvation, differed considerably from the ideas

prevalent today. It should be observed and noted, however, that this change in point of view and difference in opinion do not destroy the fundamental facts in the case. This is what some men seem to have forgotten. Granted that man is a creature evolving from a lower to a higher state, a failure to rise is a conceivable possibility for the race, and a fall from a higher state once attained to a lower one is sometimes an actual fact in individual experience. Granted that the individual is part of a society which has a certain solidarity, that fact emphasizes the force of heredity and the force of environment which involve the individual in the common lot. Thereby is conserved much of the truth of the past; but the law of variation is not destroyed by which the individual, through his own choice and action, may rise above heredity and surpass the common environment. They who recognize the common facts of human history will find place for the doctrines of sin and punishment, grace and salvation.

There is a Christian conception of sin which is in harmony with the scientific and sociological view of man now prevalent, and which should be clearly seen by the preacher and forcefully presented to the people. This is here called *a* Christian conception, rather than *the* Christian conception, because it does not exclude other facts and ideas of sin. The fall of a moral being from a higher to a lower state is sin; but the voluntary failure of a moral being to rise from a lower to a higher state is also sin. To eat forbidden fruit which gives the knowledge of evil is sin; to refuse to eat the fruit of the tree of life is also sin. Disobedience to the command of God as King is sin; but refusal to accept the invitation of God as Father is also sin. Self-will which accepts and follows the way of lustfulness is sin; but unbelief which refuses to accept and to follow the guidance and the way of divine love is also sin.

"To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin," says St. James. Two things are to be noted here; namely, the negative character of sin which consists in not doing, and the positive character of guilt resting upon him who voluntarily refuses to do what he knows to be good. The Christian conception of sin is this: the refusal of man to hear the voice of God; the declination by man of the divine invitation to believe in God and to be served by him; the rejection by man of the spirit of love and life; the failure on the

part of man to attain "unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." This is Christ's conception of sin, and to his teachings attention is now chiefly invited.

Jesus' thought of man is that man is a creature made to be born again, born anew, born into the kingdom of heaven, born into such relations as make him conscious of God, voluntarily dependent upon him, and obedient to him. The unborn babe is made for birth; he has organs, such as eyes, ears, and hands, which are fitted for, and which can be developed only in, a larger world than that of the womb. Entrance into that larger world is birth. Failure to enter that world would be to fail of the true end of life. Now, in the thought of Jesus, regeneration is as natural as generation, and birth into the kingdom is as natural as birth into the world. A man must be born into the kingdom of heaven, because he is made for that kingdom. He has capacities which can never be filled save by communion with God. He has powers which can never be developed save by the service of God. Refusal, on the part of man, to fulfil the conditions of that birth is sin unto death.

Paul's thought is along this same line. Paul, in treating of the resurrection, and of the spiritual life which underlies it and makes it possible, contrasts the life received through faith in Christ with the life which a man has by descent from Adam and says: "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual." The ψυχικόν precedes the πνευματικόν. John's thought reveals the moral quality of that life. "Everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God." To know the love that God has to us, and to dwell in that love so as to love God in return, and to love man as God loves him, is to have that which is called spiritual life, life in the kingdom, life eternal. Now, in the thought of Jesus, to remain insensible to this love of God, and thereby to fail to be quickened by it, to fail to be inspired by it, and to live according to it, is sin. This is the chief sin. It is sin against love. Jesus says: "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world and men loved the darkness rather than the light." Jesus charged the Jews of his day with this sin: "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." Jesus laid the guilt of the people of Jerusalem to this fact. Throughout her history the people persecuted the prophets,

scourged the teachers, crucified the witnesses of righteousness, and finally rejected the Son of God who would have gathered them unto himself, but they would not. In the thought of Jesus, Jerusalem's refusal, in all her history, to accept the light, the truth, the love, which God was seeking to impart, was the supreme sin.

The parables of Jesus convey to the mind the same conception of sin. The kingdom of God is like "a certain man who made a great supper and bade many. And they all with one consent began to make excuse." "And the lord said: None of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper." "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, which made a marriage feast for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the marriage feast: and they would not come." The parable of the foolish virgins who failed to take oil for their lamps and to be ready when the bridegroom came; the parable of the unused talent which was wrapped in a napkin; the parable of the wicked husbandmen who refused to render the fruits of the vineyard to the owner thereof, and killed his servants because they would not serve the master; and the parable of the man without a wedding garment at the wedding feast, are all illustrative of the same principle, that sin is (1) unwillingness to receive the grace of God; (2) failure to use the gifts of God; (3) inability, moral and vital, to render to God what is due; and (4) utter unfitness and unworthiness to have a place in his presence or to enter his kingdom.

The condemning judgments of Jesus rest upon the same principle. The fig tree on Mount Olivet, which had leaves but no fruit, withered at the word of Jesus, because in his sight worthlessness is wickedness. The disciples were commanded to shake the dust from their feet and depart from any city which would not receive their message of grace. The nations are to be judged and rewarded or condemned by Jesus, according as they have given or withheld love. They who have given no food to the hungry, no water to the thirsty, no clothes to the naked, and no ministry to the sick, are condemned. The loveless life whose selfish limitations show that it has not dwelt in the love of God is, in Jesus' sight, a worthless life, and therefore a wicked life.

Jesus' thought is this: The kingdom of God is over men, embra-

cing men, open to men; failure to enter that kingdom when God has given all the conditions necessary thereunto is to fail of the very end of life and to incur abiding condemnation. Jesus began to preach, and to say: "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He bade men: "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." He taught men to pray to the Father and to say: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done." According to the teachings of Jesus, not to enter by the narrow gate, not to walk in the straight way, not to follow the footsteps of the holy, not to abound in works of love—this is sin. And the root of this sin is refusal to receive the grace of God which brings salvation and teaches how to live.

Sin is like a bud which voluntarily shuts out the light; a fruit which excludes the warmth; a sheep which refuses the guidance of the shepherd; a child which declines to learn from the teacher; a steward who wastes the substance intrusted to his care by misuse; an heir who despises his natural inheritance. This has been the form of sin from the beginning of human history. This is the fundamental sin set forth in all the Scriptures. Man in the Garden, rejecting the tree of life and choosing the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of evil; men prior to the flood, walking in the ways of lust rather than in the ways of love; men in the wilderness, refusing, through unbelief, to enter the promised land; men, in Judea and Samaria, turning from the worship of Jehovah to that of Baal; men, in the cities of Israel, refusing the word of the prophets which was the truth of God; men, in Jerusalem, despising and crucifying Jesus, the Christ, demanding Barabbas and crying, "We have no king but Cæsar"—all these first have failed to receive the grace of God, and then have fallen by their iniquities. And there is no salvation save as they return unto the Lord and say unto him: "Take away all iniquity and receive us graciously."

This conception of sin should command the attention of men today. Respectable people, who, being free from vice and crime, are prone to cherish a pharisaic spirit and to flatter themselves that they are not as men have been and as some men now are, without even thanking God for what they are, may be led to see that, as in all forms of physical and mental life, failure to receive the best and to develop to the most is to fall short of the possibilities of such forms of life, so

here, in the highest relations and possibilities of human nature, to fail to recognize these relations and to fulfil these possibilities is to fall short of the true destiny of man. This is now, as ever, the great sin. Manifestly, the God whom Jesus reveals is worthy of faith and love, the spirit which Jesus possessed is worthy of reception, and the life which Jesus led is worthy of imitation and reproduction. They who wilfully fall short in these things make that failure in life which is sin.

With this view of sin, the teachings of the sacred Scriptures, as already shown, agree. The verb and the noun most commonly used in the Hebrew Scriptures, חָטָא and חַטָּאת, and the verb and and the noun used in the Greek New Testament for the same purpose, *ἁμαρτάνω* and *ἁμαρτία*, signify "to err" and "failure." This is the meaning in both languages. The words mean to miss the mark, like an archer; to err from the path, like a traveler; to fail of perfection, like a blighted bud or a blasted fruit. According to the New Testament, the source of sin is *ἐπιθυμία*; that is, lust turning in selfishness from the higher to the lower with inordinate desire; the spirit of sin is *ἀνομία*; that is, lawlessness denying relations and disregarding duties; the form of sin is *ἀδικία*; that is, injustice, wrongdoing, injury to others; and the consequence of sin is *θάνατος*; that is, death.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE PROPHETIC ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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IX. THE PROPHETIC MESSAGE OF HOSEA

§ 115. **The Personal Life of Hosea.**—In the history of no prophet is there a closer connection between the message and the personal life than in the case of Hosea. And, since Hosea's work was performed among his own people rather than in another country (cf. Amos), it is especially instructive to consider—

1. His place of residence. In this connection one may
1 Chron. 5:6. pass over (*a*) the view that Hosea was of the tribe of Reuben (compare his father's name Beeri with the name Beerah),
Hos. 1:7, 11; 4:15; 5:6; 6:4; 8:14; 11:12, etc. and (*b*) the view that Hosea, like Amos, went up from Judah to Israel—a view based upon the frequent reference to Judah in the book. But would these passages, even if all
1:1. authentic, prove the place of the prophet's work? Is this view supported by anything which may be found in the superscription or by the prophet's apparent attitude of leniency toward Judah in contrast with Israel? Is there any evidence that the book was written out in Judah after Hosea had left Israel? (*c*) In favor of northern Israel as his home take up the following questions: Does the language of the book indicate anything? Is there any evi-
7:5; 6:10; 1:2. dence to be found in such expressions as "the land," "our king," etc.? Does he show any special interest in northern Israel, its historical conditions and foreign interests, and
4:15; 5:1, 8; 6:8, 9; 7:1; 8:5, 6; 9:15; 10:5, 7, 9, 15; 12:11. its political parties? Are the places with which he shows familiarity in the north or in the south—for example, Mizpah, Tabor, Samaria, Gilead, Shechem, Gilgal, Bethel, Gibeah, Ramah? Does he speak from the point of view of a visitor or a resident? How important is this question of his citizenship in the Northern Kingdom?

2. The suggestions offered as to the meaning of the

word "Hosea." Is it an importation, a combined word made up of "Jehovah" and the root "to save" (cf. Joshua), or simply a word meaning "deliverance"? Is there anything significant in the name?

§ 116. **The Date and Circumstances of Hosea's Life and Work.**—Are these indicated in the superscription? Is this superscription from Hosea's hand or from a later date? In what respect may Hosea's life and work be compared with those of Jeremiah? 1:1.

1. Consider now the data which determine the beginning of his work and its duration. What date is implied in view of the threat concerning Jezreel? Would his marriage and the birth of his oldest son have preceded? Is evidence to be found that he preached in the midst of the anarchy which followed the death of Jeroboam II? Does the book contain any allusion to the Syro-Ephraimitish war? If not, what indication does this give of date? Is Gilead in Hosea's times a part of northern Israel? But was not Gilead with Naphtali conquered by Assyria in 734 B. C.? What then are the dates within which he must have preached? 1:4. 7:7 (cf. 7:3 ff.; 8:4). 5:1; 6:8; 12:11.

2. Consider the historical events of the period indicated above and their consistency with the times described by Hosea; for example, is there evidence in the early part of the book of prosperity and wealth? On the other hand, does the situation change later? Is lawlessness prevalent? Is the political situation one of peril? Are the leaders themselves guilty? Are revolution and anarchy prevalent? How does Hosea's description of the times differ from that of Amos? Which of the two saw more widely? Which more deeply? 2 Kings, chap. 15. Hos. 2:5 f., 9 ff. 4:2; 5:1; 7:1. 5:15; 7:11; 8:8; 12:1. 4:8; 5:1; 9:15. 5:13; 7:11; 10:6; 12:1.

3. Concerning Hosea's occupation and social standing, it may be asked whether he was one of the so-called prophets, or was he, like Amos, neither prophet nor the son of a prophet? May we infer from a familiarity which he shows with the evil practices of the priests that he himself was a priest? Is there anything opposing this view? Is there evidence of any kind to indicate whether he occupied a high social position or the opposite? 4:4, 6–9; 6:9.

§ 117. **Hosea's Call and Preparation.**—This subject is perhaps the most important of all that will present themselves in a study of the Book of Hosea. The difficulty and the delicacy of the subject are apparent, but a careful examination of the material, and the various views that have been presented concerning it, will give a clear insight into Hosea's character and the significance of his personal experience as determining the nature of his message.

1:2–9. 1. Make a thorough study of the narrative which describes the harlotry of Hosea's wife, and in connection with this the narrative of the purchase of Gomer as a slave 3:1–4. and her retention many days, and prepare a brief statement of the thought contained in these two passages, keeping in mind that, whatever view may be taken of the authenticity of the remaining verses of the first three chapters, these passages contain the actual narrative concerning Hosea and his wife.

2. Consider whether this transaction is to be regarded as (*a*) a vision or trance, something that never actually happened in real life; or (*b*) as a parable or allegory. Could a prophet have done the thing here described? Is the woman of 3:1 the same as in chap. 1? And did Hosea have two marriages of the same kind? Did the prophets sometimes represent themselves as commanded to do strange things? Ezek. 4:1–8, 9–17. Could Hosea psychologically have received such a command? Or (*c*) is the transaction to be understood literally? Does the prophet indicate in any way that it was a vision? Is the thing commanded less objectionable in a vision than in Isa. 7:3; 8:1–4. actual practice? Was it the custom of prophets to give symbolical names to real children? Is a real experience of this kind consistent with the message which Hosea preached? But (*d*), if it is taken literarally, are we to understand that Gomer was a harlot when Hosea married her? Or is it possible (*e*) that spiritual fornication is meant, since Gomer was, like other Israelites, an idolator? Or may Hos. 1:2. we understand (*f*) that the phrase "a wife of whoredom" may mean one who, although chaste at the time of marriage, had in her a tendency to impurity which manifested itself after marriage? Does this view cover the facts of the narrative? Does it remove the moral difficulties? Does it

furnish a reasonable basis for Hosea's love for his wife? Will it furnish explanation of the mental process through which Hosea came to realize Jehovah's love for Israel?

3. Trace the connection between the symbolical names given to the children and the progress of the thought in Hosea's mind, and at the same time take up the close connection between 3:1–4 and 1:2–9. Is the old relationship of wife re-established in chap. 3? In what position is the wife placed at the close? Is the period of seclusion—namely, "many days"—a definite period? 1:4, 6, 8. 3:4.

4. Consider the following questions: If we restrict the narrative to 1:2–9 and 3:1–4, is the conclusion of the story furnished? Is there any inconsistency between the representation made of a love so strong that it leads the husband to do strange things, and the usual Israelitish custom in accordance with which the wife was the property of the husband? How long a period must these transactions have covered? What was Hosea's domestic situation during these years? Exod. 22:16 f.

5. Consider these additional points: Might a call to prophecy come through a personal experience as well as in a vision? Was the chief teaching of these domestic experiences the announcement of Israel's destruction, or the announcement of Jehovah's love for Israel in spite of faithlessness? If Gomer was a harlot at the time of marriage, why was she called "wife of whoredom" rather than harlot? Is this command of Jehovah to marry such a woman to be compared with Scripture representations concerning the hardening of Pharaoh's heart and the command to Isaiah, and were these really commands? Could these experiences have been used in communicating to the people the thought which the experience itself brought to the prophet? Hos. 1:2. Exod. 10:1. Isa. 6:9 f.

6. Is it to be understood that the prophet in writing out the story of his experiences at a later time introduced into the story much of his later history? Did Isaiah do this in the story of his call, and Jeremiah likewise? May we understand, then, that there first came the experience, after that the recognition of the truth which it suggested, and still later the writing out of the experience in the light of Isa., chap. 6. Jer., chap. 1.

this truth? Is there anything analogous to this in Amos?

7. To what extent did the old Semitic conception, that the national deity was the husband of the land, afford a basis for Hosea's interpretation of his experience? Supposing this to be the basis, what new thought does he introduce?

§ 118. **The Character of Hosea.**—Consider the facts and the material of the book, and picture to yourself the character of the author Hosea.

1. In what respects did Hosea's strength differ from that of Amos?

2. In what respects was his character complex as compared with the simplicity of the character of Amos?

3. Compare closely the character of Jeremiah with that of Hosea, and indicate the points of resemblance?

4. Does any other personality in Old Testament history exhibit so affectionate a character?

5. Was Hosea strongly ethical or rather strongly religious? Cf. Amos.

6. Was Hosea, because of his emotional character and the complexity of his temperament, illogical?

7. To what extent did Hosea represent the national type?

§ 119. **The Message of Hosea.**—Consider in general the importance of the message and the facts which contribute to it a special interest.

Hos. 2:2 f., 5, 12 f.; 4:11–14.

1. Is the message a strongly personal one, and is this personal element so pervasive as to give it a prominence over and above the political and religious factors?

2. Is there a remarkable relationship between the message of Hosea and that of Amos, both being required to secure a complete conception?

3. Is there any significance in the fact that this message is given within a few years of the end of the northern kingdom?

E.g., 1:7, 10—2:1; 2:4. 6 f., 14–16, 18–23; 3:5; 14:1–9.

4. Is it true that nearly one-fourth of the verses contained in the Book of Hosea are to be regarded as insertions and additions from the point of view of later prophets, and will this affect somewhat the formulation of Hosea's message?

5. Consider whether the general thought of Hosea may

be connected with the following topics, and formulate a proposition presenting his thought concerning each of the subjects named: (*a*) Israel's character and condition; (*b*) Israel's future; (*c*) Yahweh's relation to Israel; (*d*) Israel's conception of Yahweh; (*e*) Israel's acts of repentance; (*f*) the outcome of Israel's present attitude toward Yahweh.

6. Consider what Amos had said that did not need to be said over again by Hosea, and also what Amos had not said which Hosea must now say. For example, did Amos present any plan for a restoration? Did Amos lay emphasis upon Jehovah's love, or upon universal law? If the latter, what was the next problem to be solved? Was it necessary for Hosea to promise redemption, or would it be sufficient if he would show that redemption was possible?[1] Had the popular feeling on fundamental questions changed, or was it practically the same as at the time of Amos's utterances?

§ 120. **The Convictions of Hosea.**—Recognizing the fact that Hosea, when compared with Amos, deals differently with the same questions, the one being deeper, while the other is broader; the one being strongly religious, the other strictly ethical; consider the more important points upon which expression is made:

1. The omnipotence of Jehovah. Is this idea as important in Hosea's scheme of thought as it was in that of Amos? How does Hosea represent Jehovah's power over nature, and in what way does he describe the power of Jehovah in history? Is he interested in Jehovah's work outside of Israel?

Hos. 2:8; 4:3; 9:13:14.

11:1, 3, 4; 12:9, 10; 13:4, 5.

2. Was Hosea more truly monotheistic than Amos? Is Jehovah represented as a national God? Is Hosea's representation of Jehovah anthropomorphic? Is the manner of his representation of Jehovah influenced by his own poetic nature?

3:4; 9:3; 13:4.

6:5; 5:14; 13:7; 5:12.

5:10, 14 f.; 12:14; 13:7 f.

3. How are we to account for the fact that Hosea attacks the image-worship of the times, which was passed over in silence by Elijah, Elisha, and Amos? Why should Hosea have taken this position rather than Amos?

8:5, 6; 3:1; 13:2.

[1] Cf. George Adam Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. I, p. 229.

6:7. 4. Prove that Hosea's fundamental idea of Yahweh is that of a God of love. What, in detail, is the significance of the word "love" used of Jehovah by Hosea? What is involved in the exercise of this feeling on the part of both Jehovah and Israel? What words or phrases may be used as synonyms to express the idea contained in the word translated "love"? What, according to the prophet, is the relationship of this feeling to religion itself?

2:8; 4:1–6: 5:4; 6:6; 8:2. 5. From a study of the passages cited formulate the substance of Hosea's most bitter complaint against Israel. Explain what is the full meaning of the word "know" as used in these passages. What knowledge of God is it that Hosea has here in mind? Something which the nation once possessed, but has lost, or is it something really new? 4:1 ff.; 6 ff.; 5:1 ff. Why is it that the people do not reach up to this new knowledge? 2:8; 4:6. And in what way is it possible for Israel to gain a true knowledge of Jehovah?

2:2; 3:1. 11:1. 6. If Jehovah is the husband of Israel, or if he is the father of Israel, what relation does he sustain to outside nations? Is Hosea much concerned with the outside world? What evidence is there that Jehovah occupies a place of superiority in the outside world? Why was Hosea indifferent to the world at large?

4:13 f.; 6:6; 8:11–13; 13:1 f.; chap. 10, *passim*. 7. Formulate a statement representing Hosea's message on the cultus, and compare with this the thought of Amos. Why is the Canaanitish worship distasteful to Hosea? Why is he opposed to calf-worship? Does he give larger consideration to the cultus than does Amos?

4:8; 5:1; 10:13; 6:4; 11:12. 8. Prepare a statement expressing Hosea's conception of the immorality of Israel in those days. What is the occasion of this general immorality? Is it encouraged by the priests? Why? What methods does Hosea adopt to bring about a reform in this particular?

8:4–6. 9. Prepare a statement representing the political situation at home and abroad as represented by Hosea. In what respect has the home policy been wrong? Does he condemn the disruption of the kingdom which took place 7:1–8; 8:4–13; 10:8 ff. in the days of Rehoboam? What is his attitude toward the anarchy of his own time? What about the foreign policy? Exactly what was it, and what was its weakness?

10. What was Hosea's interpretation of Israel's past history? What interpretation of this same history had been made before the days of Hosea, and what two great interpretations follow? Formulate in some detail Hosea's point of view and the great religious lesson which he based upon it. 1:4; 5:13; 7:3–7, 13 ff.; 9:14; 11:1; 12:3, 9 f.

11. If 14:1–8 comes from a later hand, compare also other suspected passages with Hosea's representation concerning Israel's immediate future. Present in contrast his conception of the future on the supposition that these passages come from his pen. What considerations now may be urged in this connection against the authenticity of the passages cited? In any case, is not Hosea's conception of Yahweh one which furnishes a basis for a hopeful future? Did he teach the possibility of repentance? Did he expect Israel to repent? 1:10—2:1, 14–16 18–23; 3:5; 11:10 f. 2:2; 5:4; 6:6; 10:12. 13:14.

12. Consider two additional points in reference to Hosea's message. (*a*) To what extent did he make use of the nation's past history, and where did he get his material? Is it possible that he may have made use of oral tradition? Did he have information which no preceding document then in existence furnished? Did he exercise a judgment concerning the past, differing from that of those who preceded him? (*b*) In what sense now may the character of Hosea's message be said to be typically Israelitish? Was his message a true expression of the national spirit? In what respects may the message of Hosea be contrasted with that of Amos? Cf. 8:12; 9:10· 12:3. Cf. 8:13; 9:3, 10; 10:9; 11:1, 5; 13:4 f. Cf. 11:8. Cf. 1:4; 10:5.

§ 121. **The Ministry of Hosea.**—What is the external form of his work? What was its scope? In what did it consist? Remembering that the ministry of Hosea was that of a poet, not a philosopher; that of a man living almost entirely alone, not in association with rulers; that of a mystic, not a moralist—consider the following topics:

1. In the reception of his call to preach and the message which he was to preach, what method was definitely employed? Through how many years did this experience continue? What was the nature of the experience? How may we in a practical way explain the reception of the message by the prophet? 1:2–6, 8; 3:1–4,

2. In the presentation of his message to the people, what methods were employed? Was the use of symbolical names for children a good method? May we suppose that he made a public statement of the story of his discourse, and, if so, for what purpose?

2:2; 4:1; 5:1; 6:4; 9:1; 10:9. 3. Did he preach? What was the important purpose of his discourse? How many of these discourses have been preserved? What may be said as to the character of these discourses from the point of view of public delivery?

4. Did he follow the example of Amos in committing his addresses to writing?

5. How may we contrast the ministry of Hosea with that of Amos in its relation to political activity? Did Hosea occupy any public position? Did he come into contact, so far as we know, with he government? Was it, in other words, a private rather than a public ministry? Were the political conditions of his times peculiarly difficult? Was he more severe toward the prophetic policy of the past than toward that of his own times?

§ 122. Stages in the Ministry of Hosea.

1. Criticise in detail the following hypothesis concerning the chronological order of the various stages in his ministry:[2]

a) At the time of his marriage (750 B. C.?) he was presumably a young man, and, if his occupation was that of a priest, his mind had been dwelling on sacred things for many years. At first hand he gained his knowledge of the evil practices of his fellow-priests, and their close associates, the prophets.

b) Within two or three years (747 B. C.) he has satisfied himself as to the doom of Jehu's dynasty; this is annouced in connection with the birth of his son (Jezreel). He, doubtless, expected Israel's collapse to be contemporaneous.

c) Within six or seven years the tragedy of his life has been enacted; the real call to preach has come; the great message has been received; Jeroboam has died, and anarchy has set in; important announcements concerning the future have been made (in the symbolic names given three children of his wife).

d) During the next six or seven years (742–735 B. C.), with his wife put away (for he cannot now live with her, however much he loves her), he preaches his impassioned sermons, breathing into them all the warmth and all the pain of an agonizing heart. These are the years of revolution and vacillation, of decay approaching close to death—years without any hope, yet with a faith in Yahweh that is strong and steadfast.

e) What next? We do not know. It is improbable that, like Amos, he left

[2] See my *Amos and Hosea* ("International Critical Commentary," 1905).

home and went to Judah, there to put his writings into form, and to include the Judaistic references which are in the present book. It is probable that he was spared the worst agony of all, that of seeing Samaria in ruins and Israel carried captive. We have nothing from his lips or pen later than 735 B. C.

2. Present considerations which may be offered to prove the efficiency of Hosea's ministry. What is its real success, notwithstanding the failure of the prophet to turn people from their sins and to save the nation rom destruction?

§ 123. Literature on Hosea.

For presentations of the teachings of Hosea see: the introductions to the various Commentaries, especially those of Cheyne (*Cambridge Bible*), George Adam Smith (*Expositor's Bible*), Ewald, Wünsche, Valeton (*Amos und Hosea*), Nowack (*Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*), Marti (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*), and W. R. Harper ("International Critical Commentary," 1905).

Special discussions are: A. B. Davidson, "The Prophet Hosea," *Expositor*, 1st series, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 241–64; W. R. Smith, art "Hosea," *Encylopædia Britannica* (1881); *idem*, *Prophets of Israel* (1882, 2d ed., 1895), pp. 144–90; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets* (1892, 3d ed., 1901), pp. 109–42; *idem*, art. "Hosea," Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible* (2d ed., 1893); Cornill, *Prophets of Israel* (1894, English 1898), pp. 47–55; L. B. Paton, "Notes on Hosea's Marriage," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV (1896), pp. 9–18; A. B. Davidson, art. "Hosea," Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II (1899); Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), pp. 45 ff.; W. R. Smith and Karl Marti, art. "Hosea," *Encylopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901).

Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), pp. 126–41; Lagrange, "La nouvelle histoire d'Israël et le prophète Osée," *Revue biblique*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 203–38; Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1893, 2d ed., 1899), pp. 204–18; Oettli, "Der Kultus bei Amos und Hosea," *Greifswalder Studien* (1895), pp. 1–34; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias* (1897), pp. 24–40; Seesemann, *Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea, nebst einem Exkurs über Ho. 1–3* (1898); Volz, "Die Ehegeschichte Hosea's," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1898, pp. 321–35; Procksch, *Die Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Amos, Hosea und Jesaia* (1901); Oettli, *Amos und Hosea, zwei Zeugen gegen die Anwendung der Evolutionstheorie auf die Religion Israels* (1901); Nowack, "Die Zukunftshoffnungen Israels in der Assyrischen Zeit" in *Theologische Abhandlungen* (Festgabe für H. J. Holtzmann, 1902), pp. 33–59; Riedel, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, Heft I (1902) pp. 1–15; Boehmer, "Die Grundgedanken der Predigt Hosea's," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XLV (1902), pp. 1–24; Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, *Der heilige Rest* (1903), pp. 64–88.

Current Opinion

Is Erasmus Rather than Luther the Prophet of Modern Protestantism?

In an article in the October number of the *Hibbert Journal*, entitled "The Triumph of Erasmus in Modern Protestantism," Professor Henry Goodwin Smith, of Cincinnati, raises this question. "Erasmus," he declares, "was weak in his convictions. His words were often ambiguous. His attitude toward the great dilemmas of the day was evasive. . . . . He saw truth on both sides of every actual issue." On the other hand, "Luther towered above him as the rugged champion of honesty and personal liberty." Professor Smith then calls attention to the present acute struggle in Protestantism between the demand for conformity to the past and the demand for spiritual liberty to meet modern problems in a frank fashion. After showing how modern thought is more in accord with Erasmus than with Luther in regard to the chief questions on which the two men took issue—viz., the right of the papacy to a place in Christianity, the proper method of church reform, the toleration of opinion, the significance of dogma, and the freedom of the will—Professor Smith declares that there is a strong tendency today to adopt practically Erasmus' temporizing policy. "It is an ominous fact that the effort to introduce these ideas into organic Protestantism is accompanied by a revival of the indirect and evasive moral methods of Erasmus." "Crypto-liberalism is practiced in communions which will not permit open expression of liberalism. Progressive men are quietly disseminating their views, preaching them cautiously, but usually keeping them out of print. A frank public expression of liberal views is discouraged by the crypto-liberals as "inexpedient," and opposed by conservatives as erroneous. . . . . There are many good arguments, or at least a good many arguments, advanced for this position—evolution, continuity, the evils of schism, the unity and peace of the church, love of brethren who differ, and many other excellent reasons. Against all this array, drawn from history, analogy, and the soul of Erasmus, one simple little question stands in the wavering balance: Is it honest?" Professor Smith asserts that the strength of Protestantism depends not so much upon conformity either to past dogma or to modern science as it does upon the spirit of inner sincerity. "Do away with the assertion of your convictions," said Luther, "and you do away with your Christianity." This vigorous article deserves wide reading.

"The Point of Contact" in Religious Thought

Recent numbers of the *Hibbert Journal* have contained an exceedingly interesting discussion between Sir Oliver Lodge, on the one hand, and the bishop of Rochester and other theologians, on the other. Sir Oliver has been endeavoring to restate the doctrine of sin from a scientific point of view, and the bishop of Rochester, with his allies, has been endeavoring to show him his mistakes. It would take too much space to give the arguments in detail, but while criticising the discussion as a whole, in the October number Professor J. H. Muirhead contributes several sentences which occasion thought. After recognizing the great truth that a religion which is to take hold of the mind of man must act along the line of its deepest stream of tendency, Professor Muirhead goes on to say: "This tendency is in the direction of a conception, on the one hand, of God, not as a separate being standing outside the world, but as the principle in which all things find their reality and unity; and, on the other hand, of human nature as wrought in the consciousness of this unity, and destined through the self-revealing power of this principle of progress toward their fuller knowledge and realization of it—all creation groaning and travailing for the revelation of the sons of God. In the furtherance of this progress the church is called to a great task—no other than the interpretation to man of his highest aspirations and proper destiny, the insistence upon the complete self-surrender to the highest within him for which Christianity stands as the condition of their realization, and the organization of social and civil life so as to give completest expression to them in the outer order. That it may continue to perform this task in the future, as it has done in the past, the chief condition is a clear understanding of the direction these aspirations are at present taking, the view of its own destiny that science and philosophy are forcing upon mankind. Articles like that of Sir Oliver Lodge, springing, as the bishop acknowledges, from a spirit *naturaliter Christiana*, are a warning to the present-day exponents of the Christian tradition that they are in danger of forgetting this primary requirement of our time and, in so far as they do so, are themselves responsible for the division between science and religion, which they deplore."

It is to be hoped that all religious teachers will come to recognize the truth of these statements. The average man of business may not care for fine-spun philosophy, but he is affected, either consciously or unconsciously, by the great movements in the world of thought. And even if today's man of affairs is an exception to his statement, his children who are coming up in school and in college are in danger of being trained away from that world-view which much of our preaching presupposes. The

practical question is a very simple one: Shall we attempt to build up in a modern man that apperception which makes the thought of some past biblical era effective, or shall we so present biblical truth as to make it effective among men who are possessed of today's stock of truth and today's intellectual tendencies? The greatest problem of today is not the discovery of new truths, but the discovery of points of contact and methods of application for the truth we already possess. Christianity must succeed in this regard if it is to compel the assent of the modern man and woman.

Shall we Study Sociology in the Sunday School?

John C. Adams and Urbain J. Leverrier, by mathematical calculations based on the motions of the already discovered Uranus, declared that an unknown planet ought to be found in a certain position among the stars. Galle, of Berlin, in 1846, turned his telescope to the place and actually saw the stranger. Something analogous is at hand in regard to religious education. The study of psychology has revealed perturbations in the individual consciousness due to nightly social attractions. The contents of the Old Testament and the spirit of the New Testament force thoughtful men to value the historical setting of a truth. The genius of our religion is manifested in the life of him who came to minister and who did serve mankind. He laid down the law that "he that is willing to do shall know," and that "the tree is known by its fruits." Recent writers on religious education have insisted on the study of social facts, relations, ideals, and methods in order to discover the actual situation in which the soul is to work out its salvation, and in which faith is to demonstrate its vitality and usefulness. G. S. Hall, W. T. Harris, Haslett, Coe, Starbuck, Paul Natorp, and Pease, may be cited as illustrations of the tendency. Character is formed by habitually doing what we ought to do. We cannot do what we do not know. Duty is determined by the total of contemporary facts of human relations. Ancient texts reveal the essential spirit of religion, and the life of Jesus is its highest manifestation; but manna from heaven must be freshly gathered. Social ethics, on the basis of social science and philosophy, is the new planet which is just swimming into the field of distinct vision. Psychology, theological ethics, and biblical ideas require us to lay upon sociologists, and upon specialists in particular fields of social science, the task of discovering what individuals, churches, families, and administrations ought to do in order to "make reason and the will of God prevail." Most works on ethics are too vague. Some of the best of them were written when the police function of government was all that was

acknowledged to be legitimate, and when the community and corporations were thought to have neither souls nor obligations. All the new books on the Sunday school give a place for sociology in classes for adolescents and adults. But where are the textbooks for use in such classes? Perhaps a beginning has been made; but there is room for improvement. Meantime it is a gain that the spiritual value of direct study of contemporary life has been ungrudgingly acknowledged by biblical scholars. Will the sociologists respond to the demand? Will they help to teach that "God is in the world his power first made"? There are signs that they are moving in the direction required by the practical requirements of the good life.

Exploration and Discovery

LAST SEASON IN EGYPT

As the new season of work in the field opens in Egypt, a glance back over the results of the past year reveals one of unusually fruitful discovery. During the last twenty-five years the immense ruins of Thebes have not yielded as much in historical and archæological monuments as many had anticipated from them. It is especially gratifying, therefore, that some of the hopes of Egyptologists have at last been fulfilled here. The Egypt Exploration Fund, besides its work at Heracleopolis under Petrie, which unfortunately furnished few results, carried on supplementary work at Thebes, on the west shore, beside the well-known terraced temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri. Here Naville, assisted by Hall of the British Museum, came upon a temple of Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep, of the eleventh dynasty (2160–2000 B. C.). Its construction makes the building of the greatest interest, for it was erected at the foot of the western cliffs, and approached by an ascending ramp, which mounted a series of terraces. Its fundamental plan was therefore certainly the model for the architects of Hatshepsut in the construction of her remarkable terraced temple alongside this, its more modest prototype. Dating from an epoch of which we know so little, the building is of the greatest importance in the history of architecture. Its colonnades display the eight-sided proto-Doric columns familiar to Nile travelers at Benihasan, and its reliefs contained scenes showing the king among the grandees of his realm, receiving their homage. Some reports mention the reception of foreign tribute also. Unfortunately, the temple suffered complete ruin in antiquity, and was apparently a wreck before the end of the nineteenth dynasty (1200 B. C.). Its function was clearly mortuary, for it was designed as the sanctuary in which the mortuary ritual of the deceased king should be conducted, and the offerings for his maintenance in the hereafter should be presented. The builder, Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep became one of the patron deit es of the Theban necropolis.

On the other shore of the Nile at Thebes, where the ruins of the greatest temple in the world rise among the palms of Karnak, the excavations of the government have proved a great suprise. Legrain, who has been conducting the work, has been clearing the courts on the south of the

Karnak group, which formed the southern approach from Luxor, in the days of Theban supremacy. In the northernmost of these courts—that is, the one adjoining the great hall of Karnak on the south—he has found an amazing series of monuments which are without parallel in the annals of discovery in Egypt. They number not less than one hundred and forty pieces, and consist chiefly of statues from the best periods of Egyptian art, besides some inscribed stelæ. The question as to how these things came to be buried in this court is of great interest. It is evident that they were intentionally concealed here, and the only possible motive would be that of the preservation of the monuments from sack and destruction, at the approach of some enemy. This could not have been the capture of Thebes by the Assyrians or Persians, as statues of later date are among the group. The latest monument among them dates from the close of the Ptolemaic age, as Egypt was about to become a Roman province. It was therefore one of the later revolts of the Thebans, or the approach of the barbarous Blemmyes of the eastern desert, which led the decadent priesthood of Amon to conceal their whole treasure of votive and sacred statues under the pavement of the southern court, where they have rested to this day, to enrich our treasures of Egyptian art with an accession of incalculable value. For these statues, chiefly of stone, are in an almost perfect state of preservation, and represent nearly all periods from the Old Kingdom (ended 2475 B. C.) to the close of Ptolemaic rule (30 B. C.). The earliest is a statue of Nuserre, of the fifth dynasty (2750–2625 B. C.). It is a noble work of granite from the first cataract, and measures nearly six feet in height. In the Middle Kingdom the great Sesostris (Usertesen) III, the conqueror of Nubia, is represented by a colossal head in pink granite over three feet and a half high. The trunk is still missing, but will doubtless be found before the completion of the excavations. This head is a masterpiece of Egyptian art, embodying those qualities of superhuman strength and imperturbable calm of which the Egyptian sculptor was so completely master. The flesh-forms have been so summarized in the exquisitely hard medium that something of the eternal immobility of the stone itself has been wrought into the features of the great king. From the same age are also several statues of the lords of the kingdom. A royal architect of Sesostris I, and a governor of the residence city with his wife, are wrought in granite, and their figures were erected in the temple by special favor of the king—a manner of rewarding deserving servants of the state which became more and more common from the Middle Kingdom on. Several royal statues represent the otherwise so little-known age of the thirteenth dynasty, before the invasion of the Hyksos. Numerous

works of the finest character are of the eighteenth dynasty. A magnificent torso in alabaster exhibits such perfect anatomy that one might suppose it to have been the work of the Greek age; it shows traces of gold overlay. It would consume all the available space at our disposal, and more, merely to catalogue briefly these remarkable monuments. It is especially gratifying to learn that they bear numerous inscriptions, that a number of inscribed stelæ are among them, and that the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty, from which we have so few monumental remains, is largely represented, particularly by a stela with records concerning the accession of Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), who played an inglorious rôle in the closing history of Jerusalem under the Judean k ngs

The tireless exertions and the unlimited generosity of Mr. Theodore M. Davis have at last been crowned with success in reaching the sepulchral chamber in the tomb of Queen Hatshepsut, after a most arduous campaign. The tomb was unfortunately not rich in monuments, the chief of which were the two sarcophagi, belonging to the queen and her father Thutmose I, showing that the tomb was designed for them both. Mr. Davis' sumptuous publication of the tomb of Thutmose IV, also discovered during his excavations, contains a number of most important monuments in the history of art, especially the chariot of the king, with its battle scenes in relief, and the superb fragment of tapestry, the earliest known example of the art. By experts in European tapestry the piece is considered one of the finest examples of the art in existence. While this American work of Mr. Davis has been going on in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, Schiaparelli, of Turin, has been clearing the tombs of the queens in the neighboring valley.

The German excavations at Abusir, among the pyramids of the fifth dynasty, while not productive of many new monuments, have been very fruitful in scientific results. At the pyramid of Nuserre, the same king whose statue is among the great find at Karnak, Borchardt has penetrated into the burial chamber, and carefully surveyed the whole monument, together with the pyramid-temple on its east front, and the causeway leading up from the plain of the Nile valley below. This is the first time that all these arrangements have been studied in any one pyramid. At the lower end of the causeway Borchardt found the remains of a monumental gateway of large proportions. Here the mortuary processions, connected with the feasts celebrated in the pyramid-temple, disembarked at high water, when the flats were flooded, and, passing through the great portal, marched up the causeway to the temple. It thus becomes evident that the so-called Temple of the Sphinx alongside the great Sphinx of Gizeh, at

the lower end of the causeway leading to the Second Pyramid of Gizeh, is no temple at all, as has indeed long been suspected; but is a monumental gateway forming the entrance to the causeway. In this connection it will be of interest to our readers to know that there is now a plan under consideration for the clearance of the Sphinx. By the provisions of this plan the sand would be cleared from the monument for several hundred feet in its front, entirely down to the plain before it, so that the heavy winds would thus gain an uninterrupted sweep, which, it is thought, would keep the monument from again being covered by the sands.

At Benihasan, Garstang has found a number of undisturbed burials of the twelfth dynasty, with some excellent models of boats, houses, household servants, the mak'ng of beer, slaughter of cattle, and the like. The results of Reisner at Gizeh have also been interesting and successful, though nothing beyond the usual output of the Old Kingdom mastabas has been found.

The search for Græco-Roman papyri has been prosecuted as before, and with great success. At Oxyrhyncus, Grenfell and Hunt have been rewarded for a further investigation of the rubbish heaps there by plentiful discoveries of business documents, with now and then a sprinkling of literary papyri. In their last publication of Oxyrhyncus materials (*Oxyrhyncus*, IV) they publish a very interesting fragment of the lost *Protrepticus* of Aristotle, the fascinating dialogue of his youth, from which Cicero took his *Hortensius*. When we recall that the great Augustine himself attributes his perception of the emptiness of earthly ambitions and successes to the reading of this essay of Aristotle in its Latin form, and regarded it as instrumental in bringing about his conversion, the Aristotelian dialogue acquires a new interest. Unfortunately, the fragment preserved at Oxyrhyncus is one already known from a quotation by Stobæus (*Florilegium*, III, 54). At Abusir el-Melek, near the mouth of the Fayun, the Germans have been excavating under Rubinsohn. While their hopes of finding papyri have been somewhat disappointed, they had the good fortune to find the great rock galleries containing the tombs of the priests of Heracleopolis, which is near by. These burials had long ago been plundered, but the firs undisturbed burial of Saitic times was found there—a discovery of importance.

James Henry Breasted.

The Religious Education Association

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

Another great meeting of educators, religious leaders, and workers in all lines of religious and moral progress is at hand. It is the third annual convention of the Religious Education Association, to be held in Boston next February. The meeting will extend from Sunday evening, February 12, to Thursday evening, February 16. The chief addresses will be given at the sessions on Tuesday evening, and in the morning, afternoon, and evening of Wednesday and Thursday. Tremont Temple, with its main auditorium seating three thousand people and its several smaller halls, has been engaged for the headquarters of the Convention, and the chief assembly rooms. Other meeting-places in the vicinity—Park Street Church, Pilgrim Hall at the Congregational House, Channing Hall in the Unitarian Building, and the Twentieth Century Club—will be used for some of the simultaneous Departmental sessions.

The programme for the Boston Convention is one of the most remarkable in the history of great religious and educational gatherings of modern times. A full one hundred speakers, of national reputation, because of their special contributions to progress in religious and moral education, will discuss the most vital aspects of present-day life. The great theme of the Convention will be "The Aims of Religious Education."

Three general sessions will be given to a comprehensive consideration of this subject by eminent men: (1) "How Can We Bring the Individual into Conscious Relation with God?" addresses by Rev. William F. McDowell, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Chicago; President Henry Churchill King, D.D., Oberlin College; and Right Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., S.T.D., Bishop of Massachusetts. (2) "How Can We Develop in the Individual a Social Conscience?" addresses by Professor John M. Coulter, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago; President Henry S. Pritchett, Ph.D., LL.D., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston; Professor Henry S. Nash, D.D., of the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School; Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, of Cambridge, Mass., and others. (3) "How Can We Quicken in the Individual a Sense of National and Universal Brotherhood?" addresses by President Nicholas Murray Butler, Ph.D., LL.D., of Columbia University; President Charles

Cuthbert Hall, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary; and a third eminent speaker to be announced.

The "Annual Survey of Religious and Moral Education," which was the most famous address at the Philadelphia Convention a year ago, will be given at Boston by President William H. P. Faunce, D.D., of Brown University.

A joint session of Departments on Wednesday morning will have for its topic "The Place of Formal Instruction in Religious and Moral Education," to be treated as follows: "In the Home," by President G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D., LL.D., of Clark University; "In the Young Men's Christian Association," by Professor George A. Coe, Ph.D., Northwestern University; "In the Public School," by Secretary George H. Martin, of the Boston Board of Education; "In the Preparatory School," by Rev. Endicott Peabody, D.D., Head Master of the Groton School, Groton, Mass.; "In the College," by President George Harris, D.D., LL.D., of Amherst College.

Space does not permit a list of the subjects and speakers in the programmes of the Departmental meetings. Thirty-five sessions of the seventeen Departments of the Association will be held, to think through the specific problems of the several agencies engaged in religious and moral education, and to determine the best methods for this work. The Departmental addresses, sixty or more in number, will be given by men of equal reputation and ability with those who speak in the general sessions. Among the number will be President E. A. Alderman, of the University of Virginia; President William R. Harper, of the University of Chicago; President William D. Mackenzie, of Hartford Theological Seminary; President William J. Tucker, of Dartmouth College; President Frank W. Gunsaulus, of the Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago; Professor H. C. Macdougall, of Wellesley College; Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University; Professor Francis C. Peabody, of Harvard University; Professor Clyde W. Votaw, of the University of Chicago; Rev. William R. Taylor, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes, Worcester, Mass.; Rev. Pascal Harrower, West New Brighton, N. Y.; Mr. Edward P. St. John, Superintendent New York State Sunday School Association; Mr. Patterson DuBois, Philadelphia; Mrs. Clara B. Beatley, Roxbury, Mass.; Rev. George A. Gordon, Old South Church, Boston; Rev. G. W. Mead, Newport, R. I.; Rev. Jesse L. Cuninggim, Nashville, Tenn.; Principal Ray Greene Huling, Cambridge, Mass.; Principal William T. Peck, Providence, R. I.; Mr. D. O. S. Lowell, Master Roxbury Latin School; Head Master Frank H. Robson, Worcester, Mass.; Librarian Drew B. Hall, Fairhaven, Mass.;

Librarian George F. Bowerman, Washington, D. C.; Librarian William I. Fletcher, of Amherst College; Librarian George A. Jackson, Boston; Librarian Sam Walter Foss, Somerville, Mass.; Librarian Hiller C. Wellman, Springfield, Mass.; and two score others.

Those who attended the Philadelphia Convention, or have read its published *Proceedings*, recognize that the work of the Departments is the backbone of the movement. They are the Council of Religious Education, Universities and Colleges, Theological Seminaries, Churches and Pastors, Sunday Schools, Secondary Public Schools, Elementary Public Schools, Private Schools, Teacher-Training, Christian Associations, Young People's Societies, the Home, Libraries, the Press, Correspondence Instruction, Summer Assemblies, Religious Art and Music.

A new and most attractive feature of this Convention will be the social events planned for Monday, February 13. Visits to places of historic and present interest in Boston and the vicinity will be arranged. Wellesley College invites all in attendance upon the Convention to a special religious service in its beautiful chapel on Monday morning. In the afternoon Harvard University will give a welcome to the members of the Association, with a reception at the Phillips Brooks House. In the evening of Monday will be held the Official Reception of the Convention, in the historic Faneuil Hall, with an opportunity to meet many of the first citizens of Boston.

The music at the Opening Service on Sunday evening, at the Service of Worship on Tuesday afternoon, and at the general sessions, will be arranged to show what music can contribute to the spiritual atmosphere and influence of meetings which unite religion and education. Devotional services will be held at the beginning of each session of the Convention.

Everyone who is interested in religious and moral work, whether in the church, the school, or other religious, educational, social, or philanthropic movement, is invited to attend this Convention of the Religious Education Association in Boston, February 12–16, 1905. A special reduced rate will be made of a fare and one-third on all railroads. A full programme of the Convention, and further information about arrangements, can be obtained from the Secretary of the Boston Committee of Arrangements, Rev. Frederick H. Means, 719 Tremont Temple, Boston, or from the Executive Office of the Association, 153 LaSalle St., Chicago.

Work and Workers

Professor William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., of Christ Church, Oxford, has recently completed a course of eight lectures on "The Gospel of John" at Union Theological Seminary, New York. This is, if we mistake not, Professor Sanday's first visit to the United States.

The American Standard Revised Bible, published in 1901 by Thomas Nelson & Sons (owners of the copyright), has been adopted by the American Bible Society. They are about to issue the version, at cost price, in various sizes of type, which will be suitable for Sunday-school and church use.

The series of eight monthly conferences held in Providence, R. I., between October, 1903, and May, 1904, for the purpose of interpreting to pastors and people the great themes of the Gospel of John, met with singular success. The fifty-four addresses, given at these conferences, are soon to be published in book form.

A new raised map of Palestine, recently prepared from the surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund and other sources, by George Armstrong, secretary to the fund, is now ready. Its dimensions are 3 feet 6 inches in length by 2 feet 6 inches in breadth. Its price will put it within the reach of scholars and schools that could not purchase the larger relief map.

A volume entitled *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, by Canon William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., is now in press. Those who know Canon Sanday's eminent scholarship and devout spirit—and who does not?—will await the volume with peculiar interest.

The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association reports most encouraging results of student Bible study in colleges. West Point has enrolled 260 cadets in Bible Classes, and Annapolis 100 midshipmen. In the University of Illinois there are 450 students enrolled; in the University of Minnesota, 216; in Cornell, 235; in Pennsylvania State College, 161; in the University of Missouri, 300; in Iowa State College, 550; in Oberlin, 240; in Ohio Wesleyan, 275; in Princeton, 360; in Yale, 400.

The charter of the Union Theological Seminary, founded in 1836, provides that the curriculum of the seminary shall include "full and thorough instruction in the standards and discipline of the Presbyterian church," but does not otherwise define its relation to that church. Some years later

a by-law was enacted requiring of each director and professor on taking office a private and personal commitment of himself to the Westminster Confession. After prolonged consideration of the matter, the directors at a recent meeting repealed this by-law, and substituted for it one requiring the directors and professors to affirm their intention to discharge their trust in conformity with the charter.

THE third year of the Sunday school at Teachers College, New York, opened October 30. It is, as in the past year, under the supervisorship of Professors Richard Morse Hodge, John W. Hall, Walter Hervey, and F. M. McMurry. All the teachers are either college or normal-school graduates, and earnest Christians, and they, as also the assistant superintendent, are regularly paid for their services in the Sunday school in order that they may set apart certain time for this work, and that they may be in financial relationship to parents. The tuition for the children is $15 per year, with a reduction for more than one child from a family. It is to be expected that such a school with its favorable surroundings, skilled teachers, and fine equipment will exert great influence for improving the Sunday school throughout the entire country. The following statement of "The Essentials of a Good Sunday School" has been put forth by the faculty of this college: I, Grading—(1) a graded curriculum; (2) graded textbooks; (3) graded classes and teachers; (4) graduation and graduate courses. II, Teaching—(1) worship: (*a*) exposition, rehearsal, and singing work; (*b*) actual worship; (2) oral work; (3) dramatic work; (4) picture work; (5) memoriter work; (6) book work; (7) manual methods: (*a*) model work: handling, and even making models of oriental buildings, furniture, etc.; (*b*) notebook work: picture-pasting, narrative, and thesis work; (*c*) map-making: relief, surface, line, and point work; (8) moral practice: direction in duties to self and others, collectively and individually performed. III, Equipment—(1) pictures: prints and stereographs; (2) maps: relief and print maps; (3) sand-tables; (4) work-tables, for clay, paper-pulp, painting, and drawing work; (5) models of oriental dwellings, furniture, etc.; (6) a library of reference and desk books for teachers and pupils; (7) a museum, with an annual exhibit of pupils' work; (8) an assembly room; (9) a map-room, with relief and surface maps, sand- and work-tables, and a case of models; (10) a separate classroom for every class, with blackboard and pictures; (11) chairs for pupils, which admit of writing. IV, Management—(1) a principal; (2) a faculty, of the head teachers of different departments; (3) a director of instruction (the pastor); (4) a supervisor of educational methods; (5) a summer vacation; (6) a summer (Sunday) school, with special courses; (7) an extension (or "home") department.

Book Reviews.

Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. By R. Travers Herford, B.A. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. xvi+449. 18s., net.

Mr. Herford has undertaken to exhibit "what the rabbinical literature really does contain bearing on the origin and early history of Christianity" to the middle of the fourth century. The passages fall into two divisions: those relating to Jesus and those relating to Minim and Minuth—that is, Jewish Christians and their heresy. Mr. Herford's method is first to present the rabbinic passage, and then to discuss and interpret it; and he must not be blamed if sometimes the intricacies of rabbinic fancy have baffled his ingenuity. There are some passages here that yield so little meaning that one wonders if it were worth while to print them at all, but Mr. Herford has sought to make his collection reasonably comprehensive, and we should prefer too much rather than too little. A valuable appendix is that containing the Hebrew texts of all the passages presented which enables the student to control, in a measure, the work of Mr. Herford. An admirable series of indexes concludes the book.

The passages cited by Mr. Herford as relating to Jesus will probably disappoint the most modest hopes. Their allusions are often so veiled and so intangible as to appear to the non-rabbinic mind no allusions at all. The unintelligible pseudonyms under which they seem to have referred to him are slender links of connection, and what is actually said is seldom so apt or intelligible as to convince the uninitiated reader that Jesus is meant. The passages relating to Minim (heretics)—i. e., Jewish Christians—are more significant, and undoubtedly throw some light upon the matter of early Jewish Christianity. A real service to the study of early Christianity has been performed in the collection and interpretation of these widely scattered passages.

Mr. Herford's introduction is rich in matters of interest, but once at least in it he has spoken with unfortunate looseness, in following out the antithesis between rabbinism and Christianity: "Historical Christianity prescribes what a man shall believe and defines the true faith in precise creeds. . . . . Christianity never set up a moral creed; she did not make sin a heresy, but heresy a sin. While historical Christianity is based on the conception of orthodoxy, rabbinism rests on what I venture to call

ortho*praxy*" (p. 16). Mr. Herford is not the first man to be run away with by an antithesis. He has dwelt so long among the Rabbis as to forget what Paul meant by faith.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

Outlines of an Introduction to the Old Testament. By PROFESSOR JOHN WALTER BEARDSLEE, D.D. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1903. Pp. 215.

This book, the author tells us in his preface, is the outgrowth of fifteen years of study and teaching, and is designed simply to indicate the lines along which study is demanded if one is to understand the teachings of the Old Testament. No effort has been made to present all the views of the many who have written upon the same general theme, nor even to give exhaustively the author's own views, but rather only enough to introduce the reader to the text. The book is from the pen of a conservative, who, although he acknowledges his great debt to criticism, still feels that "the results thus far secured are too vague to become a satisfactory basis for the interpretation of Scripture." Each book of the Old Testament is treated briefly, usually under the captions of the "Name," "Position of the Book," "Scope," "Analysis," "Literary Features," "Religious Value," and "Literature."

Here are some of the author's positions and opinions. The Pentateuch, for example, "in its present form betrays so plainly the presence of one mind that we cannot conceive that the five books have been written independently and then for convenience brought together" (p. 10). Moses was its author, though not necessarily the writer of every word (pp. 31, 32). The book of Joshua is rightly separated from the Pentateuch, there being no good reason for calling all six books together the "Hexateuch." The book of Isaiah, though diverse in style and thought, is nevertheless a unit. "It has doubtless met with some modifications of later editors, as have so many of the Old Testament books, yet they are not of such a character as to deprive Isaiah of the claim to authorship" (p. 81). Micah also is a unit; Jonah is historical; Zechariah wrote the entire book ascribed to him; and "the historical succession of testimony for the genuineness of Daniel is even more complete than that of many other books of the Bible." Concerning the Psalms the author argues that if David wrote the eighteenth psalm, as most critics agree he did, there is no inherent reason why he should not have written many more. The late Dr. A. B. Davidson's remark on the subject of the date of the Psalms is suggestive just here. He says: "It would be as untrue to say that the psalmody of

Israel took its rise with the second temple, as to say that the Thames rises at London Bridge. But though the Thames rises higher up, it begins at London Bridge to bear on its bosom the commerce and the industrial life of the nations; and the Psalter, too, begins with the second temple to express the religious life, not of individuals, but of Israel."[1] Professor Beardslee's opinion of the value of Elihu's speech in the book of Job, namely, that the movement of the poem, instead of being interfered with, rather demanded some such recognition of God's goodness as Elihu gives, before the Lord himself speaks, seems helpful. The psychology of Job—his complete surrender, silence, and confession—are inexplicable when the speeches of Elihu are removed.

Dr. Beardslee's book is unpretentious, brief, and allows the reader to enter the author's classroom and listen to him as he lectures. Such a book has its appropriate place, and is destined to find a welcome from many.

George L. Robinson.

McCormick Theological Seminary,
Chicago.

Sunday-School Teacher Training. By H. M. Hamill, D.D. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1904. Pp. 106. $0.50.

This book is by a devoted Sunday-school worker, who urges several plans, which he has had a part in organizing, for the training of teachers using the "International Sunday-School Lessons." It is written for such teachers. The question is not raised if there are others. The discussions embrace weekly teacher classes in the Sunday-school lessons, in biblical and pedagogical introduction or in both kinds of works; Sunday normal classes for pupils of college age, local training schools, and denominational training courses. The Sunday-school problem is touched at the root in the remarks that "the church is largely what the seminaries make it;" and, "so far as the writer knows, there is not a Sunday-school chair, or the pretense of it, in an American theological seminary;" and in a quotation from a seminary graduate that "they asked me ten questions about angels, and not one about a child." The recommendation of such a chair by a traditionalist is to be welcomed, even though he overlook the certainty that seminary professors of pedagogy would respect the learned profession of elementary education, and the present "International Lesson" system would be metamorphosed in consequence. Our author himself distinguishes between "child psychology" and "the study of plain boys and girls."

[1] *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1904, pp. 19, 20.

He likens "paidologists" to phrenologists. He prefers "the home-grown, necessity-evolved leader and method, which somehow eclipse the finest work of the professional trainer." Dr. Hamill's lack of first-hand information regarding educational research is clear from his deeming himself a "heretic" for believing that adolescence (he does not use the term) ought to be studied as well as early childhood. Graded schools and manual methods of instruction are not considered.

The books listed for teacher courses mark an advance upon the little pamphlets formerly recommended by Dr. Hamill himself and others. He indorses the Religious Education Association, and praises the plans of the Canadian Presbyterians as the most promising of denominational efforts at teacher-training. But when these plans are published, it will be found that their courses and textbooks, practical as they will appear to teachers in graded Sunday schools who can specialize in their subjects, are too ambitious for the generality of teachers conditioned by the "International Lesson" system. The traditionalism of the textbooks recommended for biblical introduction is sufficiently indicated by the question raised as to whether it was Mr. Moody or Mr. Jacobs "who knew the Bible better than any man living." The book is well written. It promises to be of great service to the large body of teachers contemplated. It should be read by those also who hesitate at the magnitude of the Sunday-school problem, since the record of the comparative success of the teacher-training to which the author is devoted ought to encourage the activity of the least of those who possess true information regarding the subject-matter and method of religious education.

RICHARD MORSE HODGE.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
New York.

The Teacher and the Child. By H. THISELTON MARK. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1903. Pp. 165. $0.75, *net.*

This volume is to be classed with that small but increasing number of books which attempt to apply the principles of modern pedagogy and to use the results of genetic psychology and child-study in the solution of the various problems of religious education. The author in this case has been measurably successful in his endeavor. Of the fourteen chapters which with the short introduction make up the book, three deal with the mind and its training, four with method in teaching, one with class management, four with the training of character, and one each with the teacher's obstacles and the teacher's treasury.

In the chapters discussing the nature and training of the mind, the importance to the teacher of a knowledge of the mind and its processes is made clear. Emphasis is laid upon the unity of the mind, and upon the necessity of dealing with it as such. On this subject our author says:

> The rightly nourished mind is like all other healthy organisms, in that it does not grow piecemeal, or in patches or compartments, but throughout the whole of its parts and structure. Materials may be treated piecemeal; organisms cannot. No teacher, therefore, can afford to sit down and address himself to a single compartment—a fraction of the boy-nature before him.

And again he says:

> The mind declines vivisection at the hands of its educators, and not always with thanks. As teachers, therefore, we are likely to gain immensely by knowing the mind as a living whole.

This is a truth that needs to be repeated over and over again until all of our Sunday-school teachers shall recognize and act upon it.

The other two chapters of this section discuss in an attractive and helpful way the nature and value of interest and its practical use by the teacher, and the two building powers of the mind—memory and imagination.

The next four chapters, dealing with method in teaching, will probably be the ones most immediately helpful to teachers. Several important but sadly neglected truths are emphasized of which two may be specially mentioned—the principle of self-activity on the pupil's part, and that of co-operation of pupil and teacher in the teaching process. If these two principles were followed by Sunday-school teachers they would soon see more abundant results from their efforts. The author is a follower of Herbart, and briefly but clearly indicates the five so-called steps in the presentation of a lesson according to Herbartian pedagogy. In the Appendix there are a number of lesson-plans in outline, prepared in accordance with and as an illustration of these steps of method. These lesson-plans would be more helpful to our thousands of immature and untrained teachers if they were worked out a little more fully, and the connection between the steps indicated, that the teachers might see that the lesson must be a *unity* and not a series of *steps* with distinct breaks.

The four chapters on the training of character are good and offer many helpful suggestions to the thoughtful teacher. The remaining chapters on class management, the teacher's obstacles and the teacher's treasury also contain valuable hints.

The "suggestions and illustrations" at the close of each chapter are helpful, since they call for some original thinking on the part of the reader.

While the book does not offer anything new to the trained teacher or to the student of education, it will prove an inspiring and suggestive volume for the "interested many" among our thousands of Sunday-school teachers, and is to be heartily recommended to all those who are striving for better things in their Sunday-school work.

GEORGE W. PEASE.

THE HARTFORD SCHOOL OF RELIGIOUS PEDAGOGY,
Hartford, Conn.



VIEW OF THE EAST END OF THE CHURCH OVER THE POOL OF BETHESDA AT ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, JERUSALEM

(Above is the rounded apse of the Crusading period. Below is the floor of a church of an earlier period. The stairway leading down to the pool is marked by one of the "white fathers" descending.)

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Editorials

PROPHETISM AND PRE-PROPHETISM

What reader of the Bible does not recognize the fact that with Amos and Hosea a new era is introduced into the history of biblical thought? These prophets set the fashion of those who are to follow them along several lines. The fashion thus set had to do not only with the external form of prophecy, but also with the inner content. From this time forward the prophetic sermons are written out, while heretofore they could hardly be called sermons and were not written. Likewise, from this time onward the prophet seems more and more to separate himself from the great majority of prophets of which he was one, as well as from his fellow-men, and to preach, not that which was to please the multitude, but that which distressed and angered them. Our conceptions of prophecy rest upon data connected with Amos, Hosea, and their followers. It will be remembered that Amos himself says (7:14), "I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet." What did he mean? The word *nabhi* translated in this passage stood in the mind of Amos for a body of men living in his own times. With these he had no official connection. The *nebhiim* had occupied the field in the centuries that preceded Amos. One of the most important of the number was Micaiah-ben-Imlah. The story of his attitude toward the kings of Israel and Judah is noteworthy. He was the first of all the representatives of Old Testament prophecy to oppose the "crowds" of prophets. He knew that *they* did not know the mind of God. He stood above them and against them. Thus it was with all the prophets who followed him, and thus the distinction between true and false prophecy was established.

The prophets beginning with Amos had forerunners—those who prepared the way. These were Samuel and the *nebhiim* of his day, Nathan, Ahijah, Micaiah, Elijah, and Elisha, with the hundreds of *nebhiim* in their day. These men did not write. They were preachers, and the prophets followed. They were pre-prophets. The work of Moses in a still earlier period, which briefly we may call Mosaism, passed into this pre-prophetism in the days of Samuel. Pre-prophetism, after two centuries of history, passed into prophetism, and still later prophetism, when its work was finished, finally passed into Judaism. The line is a long one. The marks of transition are not easy to be discovered, but the progress onward is as tangible as if it were presented in a panorama to the eye itself. And as the facts of history and the truth of revelation thus arrange themselves in orderly progress, we see new evidence of the presence of a guiding spirit, an all-controlling mind, an infinite Creator. Lines of separation are sometimes too closely drawn, but the distinction between pre-prophetism and prophetism, the former growing out of Mosaism, and the latter growing into Judaism, is a distinction which will help the earnest student to understand the divine wisdom shown in revelation.

AMOS AND HOSEA

Has it ever seemed quite true that a cold moralist might be as religious as an emotional mystic? Is the kingdom of God large enough perhaps to include men of both the types just mentioned? If we take the testimony of the moralist and accept his representations on the subject, we might be inclined to call the religious feeling, so warmly and tangibly expressed by the mystic, as nothing but emotionalism. This is a term not infrequently applied to it. On the other hand, if we take the testimony of the mystic and believe what he says about the moralist, the latter will be ruled out of the kingdom of God and designated a barbarian. But there has never been a time in history when men of both these types did not live and do good and serve God. For some men cold moralism is the only religion possible. Would you take it away from them? Is morality altogether of no value? For others emotion and tender regard for others are the expression of the religious feeling. Would you deprive them of the pleasure and the suffering which go therewith? Cannot

the great Father of humanity make good use of both types? Does he not do so? One has only to study the cases of Amos and Hosea to find the answer to this question. Amos was a silent, severe moralist, without religious feeling of any kind; one might almost say, without religion. His God was a deity of supreme righteousness and justice, one who could be satisfied only with a justice which corresponded to his own. This deity was one before whom all men should bow, who showed no special favor to any man, whose laws were universal, and before whom, as a righteous God, every nation must kneel. What this deity demanded was not worship of any kind—he had no care for that—but obedience and morality. On the other hand, Hosea knew Jehovah as a God of love, that is, grace; expecting for himself from man an attitude of love, that is, piety; and expecting also between man and man this same love, that is, humanity. Hosea was emotional in the extreme, full of mystic yearnings, even passionate in the expression of his feelings, whether they were those of love or hate. Hosea believed that Jehovah's love for his people involved directly or indirectly the rescue of that people from sin and suffering and shame. He did not know when or how this would come to pass; but God was love. And so great was this love—represented sometimes by the figure of the husband, and at others by the figure of the father —that it might at all events temper the sword of justice.

In other words, Amos and Hosea, living about the same time in Israel's history, represented the two types of religious life which have existed throughout all time and which make up our personal life. Is it possible that with the growing influence of scientific thought, and with the more general acceptance of the doctrine of universal law, the type of religion which Amos represents is today increasing at the expense of the other? We may not be certain about this; but let us assure ourselves of one thing: to recognize God as a ruler of the universe whose will is expressed in law, to demand justice and righteousness of the nation and of the individual, and to denounce immorality and oppression of every kind, is, after all, to do what Amos did. The pendulum swings to and fro. At times humanity passes through a period in which an Hosea more truly represents the life and thought than any other. Tenderness and patience, gentleness and love, visions of the world beyond, and a yielding to

the mystic influence of visions and dreams—this is the religious method. But in another generation or in another century it changes, and a rigid severity of life and thought becomes supreme. The keynotes of life are rectitude and truth, a living up to certain standards, even at the cost of happiness and life. Religion has among its votaries both classes. Religion stands in need of both classes; and if for a while one influence gains supremacy, a little later the other will rise to counterbalance and counteract. That these two types of religious life and character may live and work together is proved beyond all question by the scriptural testimony given in the work of Amos and Hosea. Is there a great lesson for all modern times in this close juxtaposition of two widely contrasted temperaments?

LIBERTY OF TEACHING IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES

As was stated in the January number of the *Biblical World*, the trustees of Union Theological Seminary have recently voted that the professors in that institution shall not be compelled to express conformity with the Westminster Confession. The charter of the institution is one of the broadest possible in a theological seminary connected with the denomination. The recent action of the trustees was simply a return to the provisions of this charter which lays no denominational test whatsoever upon the teachers of the institution, but provides in effect that the theological instruction shall be equal to the best given in the country, and that particular attention shall be given to the teaching and discipline of the Presbyterian church.

The significance of the action of the trustees is considerable. It marks the general tendency of leading theological seminaries to grant to their faculties increased liberty in teaching. This tendency, it must be confessed, carries with it in America certain difficulties. However desirable a different condition of affairs might be, the religious life of America at present is, and for a good many years to come will be, denominational. Theological seminaries were originally established for the purpose of training men for serving a particular denomination. In the case of four or five such seminaries, and among them Union, this original purpose has been so far modified that their student body is to all intents and purposes inter-

denominational; and further, in the case of two or three seminaries the teaching body is also composed of men of different denominations. Yet these are clearly exceptional circumstances, and, as a rule, the relation of the seminaries to the churches is still that of earlier times. The churches look to the seminaries to train men in their own characteristic doctrines.

This attitude of the churches must be taken into account in discussing freedom of teaching in theological schools. There is no evangelical seminary today, Union not excepted, which would permit a professedly Unitarian professor to remain upon its faculty. Liberty of teaching in such institutions is not the liberty of the university, but of the medical school.

It follows inevitably that, as conditions are today, until theology becomes in America as in Germany a university discipline, liberty of teaching must be accompanied by the education of a denominational constituency. However theoretically desirable it might be to allow a teacher in a denominational theological school to teach whatever he believes to be true, practically there are limits set by the degree of liberality that marks the denomination which the seminary represents. In the same proportion, therefore, as the denomination recognizes the principle of academic liberty does it share in the new dignity given theology. Any action looking to the recognition of such liberty is a splendid tribute to a denomination. And, what is more, it is a splendid promise for that denomination's future. What may we not expect of a church which, loyal to its own past, has also sufficient confidence in its seminary and in truth to guarantee its teachers the utmost liberty in investigation and teaching! The action of the trustees of Union, as well as of several other institutions, is the best indication of the permanence of denominations. The increased liberty in teaching will not be found to destroy existing religious institutions, but will make them more forceful and effective for meeting the peculiar demands of a diversified people.

THE POOL OF BETHESDA

DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN
Jerusalem, Syria

"Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep *gate* a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, withered." (John 5:2, 3.)

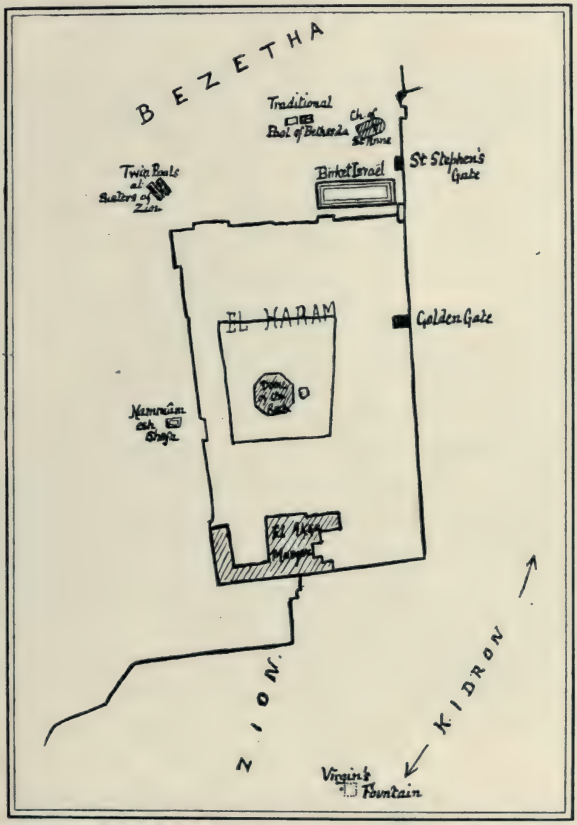
The Pool of Bethesda is one of those biblical sites about which there is a wide difference of opinion, although in recent years many have been tempted to accept without doubt a site which, as we shall see, has little to support it but that very unreliable authority—ecclesiastical tradition. The fact is, we have very scanty materials from which to identify the site, and we are never likely to be certain, although, as I shall hope to show, we may reach a high degree of probability. I propose to consider, first, what the Pool of Bethesda was; secondly, the suggested sites; and, thirdly, to balance the evidence and see which site most satisfactorily answers to the requirements.

1. *What was the Pool of Bethesda?*—All the first-hand information we have about it is contained in a few verses in John, chap. 5, quoted above.

a) We gather first of all that it was a κολυμβήθρα ("swimming-pool") in Jerusalem, at which was gathered a multitude of sick persons. It must therefore have been a place well known to the sick of the land, and we naturally ask, if this was the case, how was it that it is so little known to history? It is never mentioned elsewhere in the Bible, nor in Josephus, nor in other histories. Its name, as we shall see, must have been an unfamiliar one, for it has many variations in the ancient manuscripts. How can this be reconciled with the "multitude" which assembled there? In explanation we may notice, first, that the occasion was a feast,[1] and that many of the sick had assembled at this time, not only to secure healing, if possible, at the pool, but also, as with such unfortunates today, to ask alms of the many passing travelers. All visitors to Jerusalem know how the "blind, halt, and withered" congregate when there is any special

[1] The "unknown feast," as commentators call it, very probably Purim.

excitement in Jerusalem; this is no modern custom, but the practice all over the Orient from early times. The tradition of the healing virtues of the pool was far more universally known among the sick mendicants than among the healthy. In Palestine today there are places considered by the ignorant to be endowed with marvelous



SKETCH PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF THE POOLS IN RELATION TO THE TEMPLE AREA AND MODERN WALLS

properties, but such traditions are largely despised by the educated native or foreigner, and the knowledge of these can be obtained only by patient inquiry among the curious and sympathetic. For example, one may mention the shrines dedicated to *El Khudr* at Jerusalem, on Mount Carmel, and at Joba near Damascus; all these are, by a large section of the common people, credited with miraculous virtues.

Numbers of such places have without doubt been scattered about the land of Palestine in all ages, but unless some outstanding incident occurred at any one of them, there is little likelihood that it would be referred to by an historian.

b) We may next inquire whether the name of the pool will give us any indication of its situation. Unfortunately the name varies greatly in different manuscripts. So many variations suggest that the name was little known; and it has even been claimed that it was not a name in general use, but one given to the pool by the evangelist himself. Were this the case, then, the common interpretation that the Greek word *βηθεσδά* corresponds to an Aramaic word meaning "house of mercy" is the most likely and the most generally accepted. But others have suggested that it is from the Hebrew בית אשרא, "house" or "place of overflowing water." This derivation is supported by Conder, who quotes it from Reland; but it is considered improbable by philologists. There is, however, much variation in the Greek, and both Bethsaida (*βηθσαίδα*), "place of fishing," and Bethzatha (*βηθζαθά*), "place of olives," are considered more probable than Bethesda. Eusebius has again the variation Bezatha (*βηζαθά*) which would appear to be simply Bethzatha with the *θ* dropped out, though it naturally suggests Bezetha (*βεζεθά*), the name which Josephus gives to the hill north of the temple. This is not the place to discuss the many translations of these various readings, but we get "house of excrements," "house of porches" (Delitzsch), and "house of sheep" (Cramer), all put forward; and connected with this last, though arrived at by a different process, we have the proposed reading: "There was above the sheep pool (a house) which was called in the Hebrew Bethesda (or Bethsaida or Bethzatha) having five porches."[2] From the point of view of topography, the two meanings which might be helpful, and therefore important, though leading to an opposite conclusion, would be "house of overflowing water" and Bezetha.

c) The third point to notice is that there was some connection between the pool and sheep. What this was we can but speculate, the word *προβατική* ("relating to sheep") standing alone. The A. V. supplied *market* after sheep, and the R. V. put *gate*—an addition

[2] For a discussion of these various readings see Nestle, *Expository Times*, Vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 332, 333.

made in reference to the "sheep gate" mentioned in Neh. 3:1; 12:29. The exact position of this gate is doubtful, but it certainly stood north of the temple and probably not far from the present St. Stephen's Gate. Eusebius, and all the writers that followed him, supplied *pool;* we should thus get: "There is in Jerusalem by the sheep pool a pool," etc. On the whole, "sheep pool" or "sheep place" seems the most reasonable view.



THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE

d) The reference to the angel troubling the water, John 5:4 (A. V.) does not occur in the best manuscripts and is omitted from the R. V. We have, however, the statement that the sick people waited for the "moving of the water," and the words of the impotent man: "Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." It has long occurred to students of the Bible that a state of things such as that described as "moving" or "troubling" of the water is just what obtains in the intermittent spring—that natural phenomenon common in Palestine. In such a spring the water rises either from

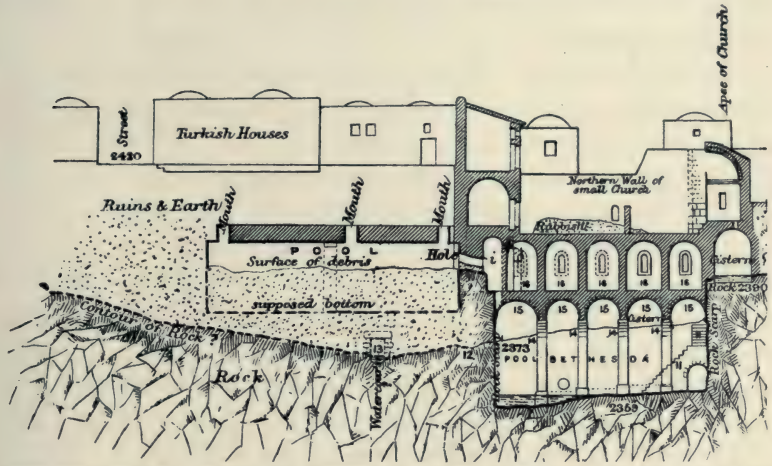
the ground or from the bottom of the pool in periodical gushes—it may be every few minutes, or it may be once or twice daily. The Virgin's Fountain in Jerusalem, *El Fûwarah* in the *Wady Kelt* about half way between Jerusalem and Jericho, and *'Ain el jinn* near Safed are three intermittent springs I have visited. The sudden "troubling" of the water is a most striking and wonderful spectacle. For example, at *El Fûwarah* ("the bubbler") the water rises three or four times an hour in a group of natural stony basins. The rise is heralded by rumblings and gurglings. The water then rapidly fills the pools, and soon the whole valley resounds with the music of running water; a few minutes more and this gradually subsides, until the extraordinary stillness calls attention to the fact that all the spring-heads are empty and dry. When the water bursts forth in a confined area, as it does today in the cave of the Virgin's Fountain, the rise is often considerable, amounting to several feet in a few minutes.[3]

Mysterious as these phenomena are, they are readily explained. Over much of Palestine layers of soft rock lie under the hard rock, and all over the land this soft layer, where it is exposed, has been hollowed out by nature into caves, and by men into tombs and rock-dwellings. In the intermittent spring we have a cavity, a kind of closed cave, formed by erosion of the water, which opens to the air by a crooked passage capable of acting as a siphon. The time taken for the water slowly to collect corresponds to the interval, and the shorter time in which the siphon-like passage empties the cavity corresponds with the sudden gushing out of the water. These natural conditions, however, must always have been, as they are still to the vast majority of mankind, a constant source of wonder; in the Orient today they are associated with stories of jinns and dragons under the earth. In the case of the Virgin's Fountain there is a folklore tale that a dragon sits at the underground source and swallows the water; but at times he sleeps, and then the water escapes. At the period of the New Testament such wonders would, as Edersheim[4] has shown, be associated with angels instead of jinns.

[3] "When we first entered there was not more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased just after we had reached the foot of the steps which lead down to the pool to four feet seven inches." —Conder in *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, "Jerusalem" volume, p. 357.

[4] *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.*

e) Another point to be considered is the nature of the "five porches" mentioned in the narrative. I think the best light we have on this is that afforded us by the excavations of Dr. F. Bliss[5] at the corresponding "swimming-pool" of Siloam. Here were found clear traces of a kind of arcade around the pool, making a sheltered place of four porches where bathers could undress or spectators sit. In the museum attached to the Greek-Catholic College at St. Anne's (adjoining the traditional Pool of Bethesda) there is an interesting model reconstruction of the Pool of Bethesda, showing just such an arrangement



THE TRADITIONAL POOL OF BETHESDA, AS IT NOW LIES BURIED BENEATH RUBBISH AND BUILDINGS

of arcades all around, with an added fifth arcade across or a division in the center of the pool. This is expressly stated by Cyril of Jerusalem[6] (370 A. D.) to have been the arrangement of the "five porches." In the model referred to, the maker calls the pool on one side of the division the "Sheep Pool," and the other the "Pool of Bethesda," but he makes out that the pool now shown as the Pool of Bethesda at St. Anne's is only a very small portion of the original pool.

We have seen, then, that a pool which would satisfactorily answer to the Pool of Bethesda should, if possible, have the following features: it should be a likely place for a multitude of sick mendicants to assemble;

[5] See *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, January, 1897.

[6] *Hom. in Par.*, §2.

it should have some sort of connection with a sheep "place" or "pool;" it should throw some light on the expression "moving of the waters;" and it should furnish remains of "five porches." Unfortunately we know of no site answering to all these requirements, but there are two other points which may assist us in our conclusion. First, it would surely be a help could we find any spot in Jerusalem which, apart from ecclesiastical tradition, is credited with healing properties. Secondly—and this is a point which I believe has not before been emphasized—we must find a site which was outside the walls of old Jerusalem, for a study of the circumstances of the miracle will show that this is an important feature. The miracle recorded in John, chap. 5, seems to have been performed by our Lord for a very definite purpose—not merely, though without doubt partially, as a work of mercy, but also to enforce a great truth. This, as what follows in the chapter shows us, was the falseness of the view of the sabbath which was taught by the Pharisees. The man was deliberately told by Jesus to do something which was not allowable according to the traditional interpretation of the law, viz., to carry off his *lehaf* on which he lay. This was a very necessary thing, and one which is certainly done by Jews on many a sabbath in Jerusalem today. Where was the offense? It has been suggested that it was because it was a "public place" that the act of carrying was unlawful; but to me it seems much more probable that it was because it was done *outside the city walls;* i. e., outside those sabbath boundaries where, as we know, nothing can be carried under any circumstances, certainly not a bed. Our Lord wished the man to do this law-breaking publicly in order to show his contempt, not for the sabbath, but for those hairsplitting differences between what was right and what was wrong which were being built up around the day of rest, and which culminated not much later in the minute regulations laid down in the tract of the Mishna especially devoted to the sabbath. Some of the suggested sites are no longer possible if the above conclusions are correct.

2. *The suggested sites for the Pool of Bethesda.*—From the thirteenth century until recent years the large pool known as the *Birket Israel*[7] was pointed out as without much doubt the Pool of Bethesda. In

[7] According to Conder the change took place about 1230.

most of the older illustrated volumes on Jerusalem pictures of this pool appear so labeled. This reservoir is about 360 feet long by 126 feet wide; formerly it was 80 feet deep, but within the last few years it has become the dumping-place of rubbish from all over the city, so that at the present time it is almost filled up. The reservoir is constructed in the breadth of a deep natural valley which runs under the city from a little east of the Damascus Gate and, passing southeast, joins the valley of Jehoshaphat 140 feet south of the northeast angle of the temple area. It is a valley so filled with rubbish that only excavations can demonstrate its existence. The ends of the pool, lying to the east and west, are against the valley sides, and therefore largely of rock, while the north and south sides are masonry. The pool when full probably contained about 22 feet of water, and its purpose was quite as much to act as a protection to the northern end of the temple inclosure as to supply water. It does not at all answer to the requirements of a *κολυμβήθρα*, nor are there any evidences of porches—i. e., arcades—around it. The place, indeed, seems to have been selected for the site of the Pool of Bethesda in rather a haphazard way, and for years students of biblical topography felt the unsatisfactory character of the identification, especially in the light of the description given by Eusebius, who states: Bethesda, "a pool in Jerusalem, which is the sheep [pool] formerly having five porches. It is now identified with the twin pools, of which one is supplied by the periodic rains, while the water of the other is of a muddy color—a trace, they say, of the carcasses of the sacrifices which were formerly cleansed in it before offering, whence also it was called *προβατική* (sheep [pool])." Numerous pilgrims refer to this twin pool between 330 and 570 A. D., but some time after this it appears to have been lost sight of altogether. The references to a "twin pool" caused the early explorers of the Palestine Exploration Fund to identify the twin pool under the buildings belonging to the Sisters of Zion as the lost pool, while others on other grounds suggested the well-known *Hamam es Sheja.*[8] With regard to this latter, its name "bath of healing" is practically its only serious claim. It is an underground tank near the *Bab el Kattanin*, one of the gates of the Haram or temple area,

[8] This site has been recently advocated by Dr. Furrer, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1903.

and it supplies the Turkish bath there. It contains only dirty water, greatly impregnated with sewage, which runs down there under the rubbish of the city; it has no true spring and is quite unfit for use either as drinking-water or for a bath. In no way does it answer to the description of a traditional pool; there are, it is true, some arches about it, but no definite five porches, and if more need be urged against its claims, I would consider final the fact that it was certainly inside the old city walls.

The twin pools under the convent of the Sisters of Zion are both over one hundred feet long, and were supplied by an important aqueduct with surface water collected over a large area to the north of the city. They would probably never have been suggested had it not been that when first found they were supposed to be the twin pools of Eusebius, the Bordeaux pilgrim, and Jerome. But since the discovery of the pools next to be described, near the Church of St. Anne, this suggestion is untenable. They satisfy none of the necessary conditions so well as the St. Anne's pool which, as we shall see, was certainly considered the sacred site. It is indeed probable that they did not exist at all until the capture and destruction of the city by Titus, for they are made inside the great moat of the fortress Antonia.

We must now consider the claims of the pool which is visited by most travelers to Jerusalem, and is popularly accepted as the Pool of Bethesda. There can be no doubt that when discovered, about sixteen years ago,[9] this pool was found which had long been looked for in this situation—namely, in close proximity to the Church of St. Anne. This pool is 55 feet long and 12 feet wide, but with its "twin" pool immediately to the west, from which it is divided by a thick wall of masonry, is over 100 feet long. Many think, though it is extremely doubtful, that the pools extend laterally toward the north. Both these pools are filled only by surface rain-water, and have no spring nor any evidence of their ever having had one. The western pool is used as a reservoir, and after the rainy season contains more than 20 feet of water; the eastern pool, being a show place, is not so filled and usually has only a few feet of water at most. A flight of twenty-four very steep steps leads from the opening at the eastern end to the water level. Over the pool there are remains of a

[9] See *Quarterly Statement of the P. E. F.* for 1888.



THE TRADITIONAL POOL OF BETHESDA AS IT NOW APPEARS

double tier of buildings. We have first the roof of the pool itself, supported on five arches--either as a reminder of the five porches or possibly the occasion of the selection of this spot as the sacred site; they are reconstructions of older arches. This roof forms the floor of what was apparently a church, at the western end of which, where probably the font was situated, there was a fresco, now much defaced and fast fading, representing the angel troubling the waters. Most

of the building has disappeared, but it would seem to have been a church of perhaps the fourth or fifth century. At a later period—probably crusading—when the accumulated rubbish of the city had raised the general level, a church was built on the top of the older building, of which a good deal of the rounded apse is visible today.[10] In addition to the testimony of the ruins to the sacredness of the site, various objects were found among the rubbish, indicating that this was a place where cures had been supposed to occur. Especially noticeable was the marble model of a foot with a Greek inscription which had been placed there by one Pompeia Lucilia in thankfulness for the cure of some disease.

There can, I think, hardly be a doubt that we have here the mediæval pool, and also that of earlier centuries—of Eusebius, the Bordeaux pilgrim, and many subsequent writers; but their notices of it are rather obscure. The positive evidences are the fact that a church, and probably two churches superimposed, have been built over it, that the pool is described by some of these writers as close to the church of St. Anne, "where the illustrious Anna brought forth Mary," the representation of the miracle on the fresco, and the finding of objects ascribing cure to the sacred waters. How this site came to be lost and the *Birket Israel* to be identified from the thirteenth century as the real pool is a mystery, and one that does not inspire us with great respect for the broken reed of tradition.

To summarize the claims of this to be the pool of Bethesda, we notice (1) fairly early tradition, from the fourth century; a time, however, let me remark, when there was a great activity in finding sites for everything; (2) the fact that there was certainly a sheep *gate* in this neighborhood—though, as we have noticed, it is only supposition which places *gate* after sheep in John 5:2; (3) that this pool was on the hill Bezetha, and *if* the readings Bethzetha or Bezetha are correct, then the pool might well be called after the hill in which it lay; (4) "the house of Hannah" may be translated as "house of mercy"—the most usual explanation of Bethesda; and (5) there is some evidence that "cures" (like those of Lourdes, etc.) took place

[10] Conder, however, states: "We gather . . . . that the church over the pool existed in the crusading period, but probably not earlier." This was, however, before the buildings were fully cleared out.

here. Against this site we have the facts that this is only a rain-filled cistern, with no sign of fountain, much less an intermittent fountain, to explain the "moving" of the water; that there is no sign of porches; that it was apparently within the city walls in New Testament times;[11] and, lastly, that it is very difficult to see how sick people could ever have got down into it without being drowned, unless it was purposely kept, as it is today, almost empty.



A VOTIVE OFFERING FOUND AT THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE

(This foot of white marble was unearthed from the débris at the church of St. Anne in 1866. It is now preserved in the Jewish Museum at the Louvre in Paris. The Greek inscription on the upper side reads: "Dedicated by Pompeia Lucilia." The marble foot was given to the church as a votive gift in recognition of a cure wrought at this place upon this woman's diseased foot. The date to which the inscribed marble belongs is the time of the Emperor Hadrian (117–138 A. D.), according to M. Clermont-Ganneau).

One futrher site remains to be mentioned—the Virgin's Fountain. This was, I believe, originally suggested by the learned Dr. Robinson in 1832,[12] and Colonel Conder,[13] of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is today the great supporter of this view. The Virgin's Fountain, known to the Moslems as *'Ain Umm ed deraj* ("Fountain of the Mothers of the Steps"=the spring of many steps), to the Christians as *'Ain Sitti Miriam* ("Spring of the Lady Mary"), and to the Jews as Aaron's Bath, is the one true spring in Jerusalem. In the Old Testament it was undoubtedly Gihon—"the pourer"—and the first settlers on the hills of Jerusalem were attracted to the spot through its copious waters. Here, according to tradition, the Virgin Mary washed the clothes of the infant Jesus. The water bursts forth inside a natural cave, 20 feet long, at the southern end of the hill generally recognized by modern scholars as Zion. In olden days it must have flowed out of the cave mouth down the valley; but now, because of the vast accumulation

[11] This is, however, open to question.

[12] See Robinson, *Researches*, Vol. I, p. 342; Vol. II, p. 249.

[13] *Handbook of the Bible*, *P. E. F. Memoirs*, Hastings' *Dictionary*, etc.

of the débris left by the many destructions of Jerusalem, the valley has become so filled with rubbish that its approach is down a double flight of steps, twenty-six in all. At the back of the cave, some 4 feet 7 inches above the floor of the cave, is a large passage leading into the famous Siloam tunnel which carries the surplus water into the Siloam pool. As has been mentioned, the flow of the water is



THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN AT JERUSALEM

intermittent at intervals, varying from an hour or two to but twice or thrice in the twenty-four hours. The water can reach the Siloam tunnel only when it stands over four and a half feet deep in the pool inside the cave. The water today is not of good quality, being undoubtedly contaminated with sewage; but this may be a comparatively modern defilement, as the sewage today flows unchecked all over the surface from which much of the water derives its supply.

The suggestion that this is a site for the Pool of Bethesda is, I take it, not that the cave pool was itself the site, but that at the entrance to this cave, on a spot now twenty feet below the surface, there was a rock-cut pool like the one at present existing, half buried, at the

other end of the Siloam tunnel, and that just as at this latter there were four "porches" or arcades around the pool, so here there were five in the manner described. Now, it must, I think, be admitted by all that there is a very strong probability, amounting in my mind to a certainty, that there was a pool in this situation. That there should be a pool at the other end of the tunnel, where the supply of water must necessarily have been much less, and none at the source itself, which one may say was certainly even more plentiful in early times, would be contrary to the arrangement everywhere in the land. Further, from what we read of what is called the "Old Pool" in the Old Testament[14] I gather that it was in this situation. There is a small pool today under the steps of the Virgin's Fountain, and recently there was an aqueduct[15] found which carried off surplus water from the spring at an early period, the part of which near the source consisted of an open rock-cut channel which evidently at the time it was used was on the surface of the ground. Today there is, in front of the entrance to the Virgin's Fountain, an open space which may well correspond with the area of the buried pool: there is abundance of room for a large pool, or pools, in this situation, allowing for a wide highroad down the valley at the same time. Sir Charles Wilson, it is true, states of this locality that there is "no trace or tradition of anything that could be called a *κολυμβήθρα*."[16] As regards "trace," one should hardly make such a statement until the twenty odd feet of accumulated rubbish has been dug through, and there is no reason to expect that a "tradition" of a pool buried upwards of two thousand years would remain. Against this I may state that Dr. Schick, who had an unrivaled acquaintance with the topography of Jerusalem, firmly believed that excavations would reveal a large pool in this situation.

Admitted that there was a pool here, we have strong reasons for believing this must have been the lost Pool of Bethesda. (1) The pool was connected with an intermittent fountain; indeed, it is likely that, as at the *Fuwarah*, a branch of the spring may have risen in the pool itself. (2) At this fountain there has been preserved down to

[14] Isa. 22:11.

[15] *Quarterly Statement of the P. E. F.*, January, 1902.

[16] Smith's *Dictionary*, art. "Bethesda."

modern times a tradition that the rising waters are beneficial to the sick. "The modern Jews believe the waters of this pool to be a sure cure for rheumatic complaints. They often go in numbers, men and women together, and stand in their clothes in the pool, waiting for the water to rise."[17] Only a few years ago the Turkish government had to station a soldier at the fountain to prevent quarrels between the sick Jews visiting the spring for their health, and the village women from Silwan coming to draw water. (3) The situation outside the city walls, and upon what must have been a popular highway on a feast day —i. e., along the valley of the Kedron and through the irrigated gardens that for many centuries have laid there—are just the conditions required by the narrative—outside the city, for the reasons already shown; a place of public resort where sick mendicants could pursue their business. (4) Whether the connection with "sheep" was "sheep place" or "sheep pool" (and most of the early Christian writers assumed the latter), where do sheep more commonly resort than at the town or village fountain? Here the sheep would naturally be brought for watering and washing, and the nearness of the temple precincts would make this a peculiarly suitable spot.



RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH OVER THE TRADITIONAL POOL OF BETHESDA

In balancing up the evidence, it seems to me the most definite statement is the one connected with the "moving" of the water; therefore a site which explains that fact has a strong presumption in its favor. The local non-ecclesiastical tradition, and the other points, all go to confirm it. Excavations no more extensive than those undertaken by the good "white fathers" of St. Anne's in the clearing out of their pool would in all probability put the question beyond dispute.

[17] *P. E. F. Memoirs*, "Jerusalem" volume, p. 366.

THE CHARACTER OF SAUL

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A biographical sketch of Saul is beset by peculiar difficulties. No progress can be made in the attempt to unravel the mystery of this man's life until we frankly recognize that the story of that life is really twice told in the books of Samuel—told, too, from different, and some would even say conflicting, points of view. Everyone who reads the narrative with any attention must have been struck by the different attitudes to the kingship maintained by chaps. 8 and 9 respectively. According to the one, the king is a gift of God, welcome as a means of uniting the nation against the assaults of the Philistines (1 Sam. 9:16). According to the other, the desire for an earthly king is interpreted as a rejection of the unseen king, Jehovah (1 Sam. 8:7). Further, the origin of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" is connected with two different incidents in the life of Saul (1 Sam. 10:12; 19:24). Again, the combination of one story with the other completely destroys many a splendid dramatic effect which becomes plain as day the moment each narrative is read by itself. In reality, the battle of Gilboa (chap. 31) dramatically follows Saul's interview with the witch of Endor (chap. 28); whereas, in the present form of the book, this sequence is broken by fragments of a biography of David. This point need not here be further elaborated; but an analysis of the book, resting on these and similar hints, leads approximately to the following results: The earlier story includes 1 Sam. 9:1—10:16; chaps. 11; 13 (all but vss. 7*b*–15*a*); 14; 16:14–23; 18:6–30; 19:11–17; 21:1–9; chaps. 22 (except vss. 3–5); 23; 25; 26; 27:1—28:2; chaps. 29; 30; 2 Sam., chap. 1. The later story includes 1 Sam., chap. 8; 10:17–27; chaps. 12; 15; 16:1–13; 17:1;—18:5; chap. 19 (except vss. 11–17); 21:10–15; 22:3–5; chap. 24; 28:3–25; chap. 31; 2 Sam. 2:4*b*–7. The omitted verses appear to be fragments from other sources, and even the two leading narratives may not be altogether homogeneous.

We shall now briefly outline these narratives, confining ourselves in the main to the biography of Saul; for the story of David's earlier years is also largely interwoven with that of Saul. The older narrative, then, runs somewhat as follows: In search of stray asses, a young man named Saul, of mighty stature, happened to reach a spot where a sacred festival was being conducted by Samuel the seer, who was divinely led to recognize in Saul the future king of Israel. Samuel anointed him and urged him to seize any opportunity that came his way to serve his country's cause. That opportunity soon came in the form of a request from the city of Jabesh in Gilead to be delivered from the terror of the barbarous Ammonites. At once Saul rose to the occasion, defeated the Ammonites, and was proclaimed king. He then turned his attention from the enemy on the east to the enemy on the west, and inflicted some crushing, though not decisive, blows upon the Philistines. These wars revealed to Saul the importance of a regularly organized army, the nucleus of which he created in the form of a permanent body-guard. But there was a darker side to all this success. He was afflicted with a mental malady, and the effort to heal the distemper only deepened the tragedy which had begun. For the minstrel who was brought to the court to soothe the king's troubled spirit happened to be a man of versatile genius and of altogether extraordinary charm, besides being also a brilliant warrior. The suspicious Saul speedily detected in him a possible rival, and repeatedly sought by cruel cunning to put him out of the way, so that David was at length compelled to flee for his life. Believing that the priests of Nob were in league with David, Saul had them all put to the sword, only one escaping. Saul devotes what time he can spare from his attacks on the Philistines to the persecution of David, who finally takes the bold step of seeking protection at the court of Achish, one of the Philistine lords. Before the fateful battle of Gilboa, the Philistines, not unnaturally doubting the fidelity of David to their cause, had him sent back to the south country. The battle itself is not described in this source, but an Amalekite claims to have slain Saul with his own hand.

The tenor of the later story is as follows: The elders of Israel, vexed by the corrupt administration of Samuel's sons, requested him to make them like their neighbors by appointing them a king.

Samuel, regarding the request as implicit apostasy from Jehovah, is greatly distressed, and he paints the inevitable evils of monarchy in Israel in very lurid colors. But, as the people are insistent, he summons an assembly, and by the sacred lot Saul is discovered and made king. But soon Samuel's forebodings receive painful corroboration. In the sacred war against Amalek, Saul, by sparing Agag and the best of the cattle, had disobeyed the direct injunction of the prophet, and broken the ancient law of the ban (cf. Deut. 7:2; 20:17; Josh. 6:21). So for his disobedience Samuel solemnly pronounced his rejection from the kingdom by the God whose word he had rejected; with his own hand he slew Agag, and Saul and Samuel never met again. The narrative then records the anointing of David, and his victory over Goliath. Stung with jealousy, Saul sought to have David removed by assassination, and when his suggestions were frustrated by the affection of Jonathan, he did not scruple on a later occasion to hurl a spear at him with his own hand. David betook him to the Philistine Achish, and, as prudence compelled him soon to leave the Philistine court, his life was again sought by Saul. On the death of Samuel, the Philistines mustered their hosts, and Saul, unable to ascertain the will of God through any of the legitimate agencies, turned to a witch with the request that she might use her art to conjure Samuel up from the world of shades. When he rose, however, his word for Saul was one of doom, defeat, and death. The next day the doom was fulfilled. Israel was defeated on the heights of Gilboa, and Saul lay dead on the field, slain by his own hand.

It is quite plain that these two narratives are written from different points of view. The former is, on the whole, a straightforward account of the facts; the latter suggests, and even obtrudes throughout, a religious interpretation of the facts, and is therefore of less value for the purpose of the historian, whose primary concern is with the facts themselves. The conception of the kingdom, for example, as an apostasy from Jehovah, seems to reflect the attitude of a later age which had behind it long years of bitter and disillusioning experience; and the religious motive, so prominent here, dominates the narrative throughout. It is particularly prominent in the story of Saul's war with the Amalekites, which in this narrative is the turning-

point of Saul's career. It is commonly conceded that this narrative is late, perhaps as late as the time of Hosea, and, on that account, it has sometimes been denied all historical value; but such a wholesale condemnation of it is surely out of place. It alone contains the story of the war with Amalek, which, though probably late in its present form, is undoubtedly, in the central facts, authentic. Again, though the words that Samuel is represented as uttering on the eve of the battle of Gilboa probably betray the standpoint of the later narrator, the story of the interview with the witch of Endor has all the marks of an early time. Therefore Kittel seems justified in saying that "our duty is rather to make a cautious use of both these documents, endeavoring to determine by internal evidence what the real facts probably were."[1]

On the other hand, it is only just to remember that the second narrative is distinctly favorable to David and distinctly unfavorable to Saul. It is that narrative which contains the romantic stories of David's anointing and of his combat with Goliath; while it is also that narrative which insists again and again on the divine rejection of Saul. Here, in fact, we can trace the beginnings of the spirit which culminated in the Chronicles, whose glorified and sacerdotal David bears but a very faint resemblance to the versatile outlaw of the earlier histories, and whose Saul receives too pathetically scant a justice; for, in flat contradiction to the earlier statement that Saul inquired of Jehovah on the eve of the battle (1 Sam. 28:6), the Chronicler assures us that he did not inquire (1 Chron. 10:14). A true estimate of Saul's character is therefore beset by difficulties, arising partly out of the necessarily meager recital and the possible suppression of important incidents; partly out of the fact that one of his biographers is late and not impartial. Even the older narrative is full of religious phraseology, according to the manner of the times. What is meant, for example, by such a phrase as "an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled" Saul (16:14)? It is the task of the historian to pierce behind such phraseology to the fact of which it is in reality an interpretation.

Undoubtedly the later and theological narrative has done more to determine the popular estimate of Saul than the earlier and more

[1] *History of the Hebrews*, Vol. II, p. 112, n. 1.

secular narrative. He was dwarfed in his lifetime, and has been dwarfed ever since, by his greater and more successful rival. Even a more brilliant and capable man than Saul might well have appeared inferior to David. But it is quite certain that Saul must have had many qualities not only splendid but substantial, and Samuel's initial choice of him was largely justified by the native worth of the man himself. For one thing, he must have been a man capable himself of great devotion and of inspiring devotion in others. This is attested by the elegy of David, which speaks as eloquently for the charm of Saul as for the magnanimity of David (cf. also 16:21); and it is attested almost more strikingly by the devotion of the men of Jabesh Gilead, who risked their lives to save his dead body from indignity. His relations with his servant are of the friendliest possible kind (chap. 9); and he shows a tender regard for his father in determining to return home at once, so as to relieve him of all anxiety as to his fate.

But these more gracious qualities were wedded to much strength of character. In spite of much that has been said to the contrary, he must have been a man of great capacity, quick to see and seize an opportunity. When the despairing request of the men of Jabesh reached Gibeah, Saul took in the situation at a glance, dealt his blow swiftly, and won by it the popular confidence which placed him on the throne. Again, in spite of the turbulence of the times, and the comparative insignificance of Saul's own tribe, he succeeded in consolidating his kingdom more or less effectively, not only west, but also east of the Jordan (2 Sam. 2:8 ff.). His bravery, of course, is beyond all question, and was never more conspicuous than on that last day when he went forth to battle in the firm belief that his efforts would not be sustained by the national god.

Again, he was a profoundly religious man, according to the religious ideas and practices of those days. To this the incidents described in the fourteenth chapter offer eloquent testimony. Perhaps too much stress should not be laid upon his consultation of the oracle,[2] when the Philistines were overtaken by a panic, especially

[2] Instead of the Hebrew text (14:18), "Bring hither the ark of God," the Greek should be followed, which no doubt contains the original reading: "Bring hither the *ephod:* for he carried the ephod that day before Israel."

as he advances to action before an answer is received (the will of God being sufficiently plain in the confusion of the Philistine camp). But the curse which he imposed on any who ate food before sunset on the day of the battle is very significant. The object of this was no doubt to retain the favor of Jehovah, as the divinity was supposed to be gratified or placated by the fasting of his worshipers. As a practical soldier, Saul must have known very well the risk of failure he was running in thus impairing the physical vigor of his troops; and Jonathan bluntly expresses what was no doubt the popular opinion when he says that his father, by the oath, had brought disaster on the land. Immediately afterward the extreme scrupulousness of Saul comes out in his horror when he discovers that the blood, which should belong to Jehovah, had been eaten along with the flesh of the captured animals, and in the instant he makes provision to give Jehovah his due. He further listens to the suggestion of the priest that the oracle be consulted before renewing the attack, and he is greatly distressed when there is no response—so distressed that he sets himself at once, by the use of the lot, to discover the culprit, and is prepared to have him put to death, even supposing the culprit should turn out to be his son, or even himself (on one not improbable emendation of the text). This is not like the headstrong, impetuous man we have sometimes imagined Saul to be. He wished to make sure of the presence of the national god at all costs; indeed, he has almost a morbid fear of failing in his duty toward him. It is no answer to say that he merely showed the customary scruple of antiquity, for his own son, Jonathan, does not share that scruple. Religion was a stern reality to this man; and it cannot fairly be said that his religion was altogether a matter of externals. In this connection we have to remember his stern efforts to suppress witchcraft and necromancy—no doubt an authentic touch—and this again points in the direction of a worthy conception of the God of Israel. The merit of this measure would be none the less, even if it were performed at the instigation of Samuel rather than on his own initiative. He is anxious and unhappy except when he sustains friendly relations with the unseen. Even the later narrative implicitly represents him as seeking to ascertain the will of Jehovah by dream, Urim, and prophets. It is also worthy of note that in one important respect

Saul's moral life was conspicuously honorable for those days—he is recorded to have had only one wife (1 Sam. 14:50) and one concubine (2 Sam. 21:11)—in this contrasting very favorably with his more brilliant successor (cf. 2 Sam. 3:2–5).

Saul was without doubt a man of character and ability, and had at least some of the elements of greatness; yet there was a tragedy somewhere. Where was it? What was it? Two explanations are offered: one—to which we have already alluded—his disobedience to the prophetic word in connection with the war with Amalek; another, in 13:8–15*a*, according to which he had not kept the commandment of Jehovah (13:13). The latter explanation, at any rate, is inadequate, as Saul had kept the only commandment recorded (cf. 10:8; 13:8). Under very trying circumstances, when the exigencies of the military situation coupled with the impatience and threatened dissolution of his army demanded immediate action, he waited the seven days appointed by Samuel before offering sacrifice himself. Nor can the crime have lain in the sacrifice being offered by Saul himself; for in those days there was nothing illegal in such conduct on the part of a layman, and, had that been the author's conception, he would doubtless have made it plain. Even the first explanation does not adequately account for the subsequent tragedy of Saul's life. The bare fact that two explanations are offered leads to the suspicion that neither represents the whole truth; but it shows how keen was the feeling that there was something in the career of Saul, and in his ultimate failure, or "rejection" (to use the theological language of the book), which needed explanation. Further, both narratives agree in regarding the *ἁμαρτία* in Saul's character as a religious one.

Where, then, did the tragedy begin? Was it a tragedy of incident, or was it not rather a tragedy of temper? Was it a predisposition to melancholy? Was it a felt incapacity to fill the great position which Providence had thrust upon him? Was it a lack of self-restraint, an impatience of control? Was it the loss of the friendship of Samuel, and the consequent distrust of his own initiative, and despair of the divine support of which the presence of Samuel was the pledge? Was it jealousy of David? Was it any or all of these things?

Let us go back and gather up such hints as throw light on the riddle of this man's character and destiny. The first significant hint occurs in the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" This proverb—well authenticated, as it is set in two different contexts—has been very variously explained by the commentators; but this at least is plain, that Saul's presence among the prophets was a surprise. Now, when we remember the ecstatic demeanor of the early prophets, and recall the fact that prophecy and raving are occasionally synonymous terms, the proverb at once throws welcome light upon the character of Saul. It suggests that he was of a somewhat impassive, stolid, moody nature, not spontaneous and vivacious, but rather given to brooding and introspection, and therefore the last man whom one would expect to see identified with an excited and noisy band of prophets (10:5). This inference seems to be further borne out by the fact that in both narratives (unless in this respect the later narrative simply borrows from the earlier) objection is taken by some to Saul's elevation to the throne. "Shall Saul reign over us?" (11:12), and still more contemptuously, "How shall this man save us?" (10:27). Saul must have seemed, to some at least, unfit for such a station, in spite of his kingly presence, his commanding stature, and his military success. When we remember the qualities necessary in a king of those days—spontaneity, initiative, rapidity of action—we are confirmed in our view of Saul as one who impressed strangers as phlegmatic and impassive. That, then, was the groundwork of his character. His was in essence a Hamlet nature—a Hamlet whom circumstances developed into an Othello. He was given to meditation, which would on occasion easily merge into melancholy and suspicion.

But note what happens the moment Samuel brings the idea of the kingdom within the circle of his thoughts. As the narrative says, "God changed his heart" (10:9); his heart was changed. It was just some such master-thought or ambition, if you like, as this, that was needed to stir up the phlegmatic giant into action and passion. It is a mistake to suppose that he was by nature an impetuous man, devoid of self-control. The fact that he kept so long the secret of Samuel's announcement to him about the kingdom points not so much to his modesty, as is usually maintained, but rather to an

altogether exceptional power of self-control; and there is other evidence of self-control and magnanimity combined in his refusal to adopt the suggestion of the people and put to death those who had protested against his elevation to the throne (11:13). Where he does give the reins to his passion, as in the case of the massacre of the priests of Nob, there are other reasons for his conduct connected with the new issues that had been brought into his life.

The kingdom then was the vitalizing idea in the thought and action of Saul from that moment on. His sluggish life was shaken to its depths, and it began to hasten on with power and enthusiasm toward its great destiny. His was not the vulgar ambition to sit upon a throne, but the noble ambition to realize himself in the divine career which had opened up; for, called to it as he was by a prophet, the kingdom was to him a God-given mission. He was "stung by the splendor of this sudden thought" into the most manifold and successful enterprise. He defeats the Ammonites, the Philistines, the Amalekites; and, according to the mechanical ideas of those days, he must have read in his success the divine corroboration of Samuel's words. But the task of Saul was harder than in the freshness of his enthusiasm he had anticipated. That his defeat of the Amalekites was not by any means a decisive one is shown by their renewed activity toward the close of his life (1 Sam., chap. 30); and again we are informed that there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul (14:52). No doubt the situation would be further complicated by intertribal jealousies. Now, to a religious man of that day such a situation was capable of only one interpretation. Defeat and calamity meant the anger of God. Samuel had sent him on his first great task with the assurance, "God is with thee" (10:7); here was fairly cogent proof that God was not with him. A less religious man would have been less concerned, and might have continued to prosecute his work with energy and hope; but we have seen how profoundly religious was the nature of Saul, and how persistently eager he was to assure himself of the presence of God. We can imagine what effect military failures abroad and internal troubles at home must have had upon a religious mind, behind whose early enthusiasm there lay a predisposition to introspection and melancholy.

The suspicion which must have been slowly forming in the mind of Saul reached an awful climax in the words addressed to him by Samuel after his failure to execute the ban upon Amalek. It is possible that the breach between the king and the prophet had been growing gradually wider, and that this is only the climax of a series of similar incidents. Saul's enthusiasm may often have urged him along an independent path, different from that which Samuel had prescribed for him; and Samuel may long have feared, before he finally and irrevocably denounced, the rashness of Saul, which in this case at least amounted to impiety. If that be so, it explains the peculiar and awful solemnity of Samuel's words, and the fact that that rupture between prophet and king was final. There can be no question that the withdrawal of Samuel's presence and friendship must have had a crippling effect on Saul. It was not only that he lost the advantage of his wise and steadying counsel, but what to the religious mind of Saul was much more serious—he lost the bond which bound him to his new life and justified his career. Samuel had called him to the kingdom; if he left him and denounced him—above all, if he was right in leaving and denouncing him—then Saul's position on the throne was an anomaly; his life had lost its *raison d'être.*

Was Samuel right, then? Even Saul must acknowledge that he was. For Samuel had, so to speak, caught Saul red-handed: he had chosen the moment when his sin was indisputable. Whether Samuel's words of rejection were so definite and far-reaching as recorded we need not now discuss; but, whatever they were, they flashed upon Saul the conviction that he had broken one of the fundamental laws of Israel, and therefore of Israel's God. To a naturally gloomy mind such a conviction must have produced instant, even if not permanent, paralysis of religious hope and practical energy. Scrupulously anxious as we have seen him to be, in the main, with regard to things religious, he must have felt, in that awful moment, with the words of Samuel ringing in his ears, as if he had committed the unpardonable sin, and as if there could be no place for effective repentance, though he should seek it carefully with tears. The later historian is no doubt justified in regarding this incident as the crisis of Saul's career; for, though the exigencies of the day would compel Saul from time to time to renew his activity, and call

out in him a certain spasmodic energy, the horror of that hour could never be forgotten; it would lie like a black cloud over all the subsequent enterprise of his life. Had he not been so religious, he would probably have been infinitely happier and considerably more successful. But now the shadows thrown across his mind by his initial predisposition to morbidness are deepened by his sense of abandonment by God, and by Samuel, who was to him the most important earthly representative of God. The feeling rises that he will, in all probability, be forever unable to realize the high purpose of his life. Melancholy is reinforced by remorse; for he cannot but recognize the heinousness of his sin in disobeying, for whatever reason, so well-known and fundamental a law as that of the ban; and he cannot but recognize the justice of Samuel's terrible words. A worthier conception of God might have saved him from this paralysis; but he had no religious genius. He held the conceptions of his time; and held them, to his hurt, with pathetic tenacity. He is what we might call the victim of religious mania. It is not so much that he has lost the kingdom; but he has lost his God, and he has lost his life.

Now we begin to see what is meant by the evil spirit from Jehovah which came upon him. As he broods over his broken life, his melancholy merges into temporary madness, which is so obvious and uncontrollable that his servants notice it, and make friendly suggestions to have it remedied. At this point a new tragedy enters his life in the person of David, whom Saul soon learned to look upon as an angel of darkness disguised as an angel of light. At first the music wrought its desired effect. But soon the poor, crushed mind begins to brood again; and, as David's military exploits are confessedly more brilliant and popular than his own, the suspicion forms that this man is destined to be his rival. Saul, with his unhappy power of introspection, begins now to see more profoundly into the inexorable purpose of Providence. Everything—his malady, his failures, his ruptured friendship with the prophet—has been making it increasingly clear that his day is past, that his work is done, that he is a "rejected" man; and now it begins to seem very probable that his place will be taken, and his work done, by the clever minstrel who has been brought to the court to soothe him. And the sting, the horror of the situation, lay in this, that David's relations with

the court were directly due to the malady which had prostrated Saul, and indeed to the direct invitation of Saul himself (16:19). It might well seem to the unhappy king that he was being pursued by a heartless fate, which had mockingly compelled him to be the chief instrument in his own ruin.

Is it any wonder that such a man, with such a spirit upon him, and such circumstances around him, should have been jealous of David? But it would be the grossest injustice to Saul to regard this as mere vulgar jealousy of an abler man. It is jealousy, of course (18:8, 9); Saul knew very well that David was the superior man. He instinctively and emphatically acknowledged his charm on his very first appearance at court (16:21, 22); and David's superiority to Saul in war had become almost a byword (18:7; 21:11). Nevertheless, Saul's jealousy of David was not without its redeeming nobleness; it was the jealousy of a man through whom his own life-work was destined to be ruined. The idea that had haunted Saul's imagination and determined his activity from the moment when Samuel whispered the first promise and raised the first hopes in his heart was the idea of the kingdom—of the kingdom, however, not so much as a privilege, but rather as a duty; not as an honor to be grasped at, but as a task to be worked out. In another sense than that in which Renan uses the words, Saul must have regarded David as an "unscrupulous bandit"—as a man who was destined to rob him of his own life-work, the supreme and the dearest thing that was his since the day when "his heart was changed." "What can he have more but the kingdom?" (18:8). If he succeeds in taking that, then he takes with it the life of Saul, and that life which began with such enthusiasm and consecrated energy will be forever "cast as rubbish to the void."

That accounts for his relentless persecution of David; that accounts, too, for his ruthless severity toward the priests of Nob; for he suspects their complicity with David, with the man, that is, who seems destined to ruin not so much his ambitions as his very life. In a sense not at all fantastic, we might say that Saul, in his struggle with David, is fighting for his deeper life. He is struggling for self-realization—for an opportunity to realize that self which was born again and sent out upon its royal task, the day he had met the band of prophets

coming down from the high-place with psaltery and timbrel. The gloom of his mind, the misfortunes that were gathering about him, the threats of Samuel, had practically convinced him that the opportunity fully to realize himself in the work of establishing the kingdom would never come. But the ability and popularity of David cut off all such prospect absolutely; hence his cunning and desperate efforts to have him removed. There is something very touching in his words to the Ziphites, when they disclose the hiding-place of David (23:21): "Blessed be ye of Jehovah; for ye have had compassion on me." They show how terribly his soul was shaken. David is his evil destiny, and those deserve the blessing of God who help him to remove it. The fear which Saul entertained of David has something of the superstitious in it (18:15, 29); it is the same sort of uncanny fear as the Egyptians are said to have entertained toward the Israelites, when they saw how they increased (Exod. 1:12). He feels in the presence of David as if God had not only deserted him, but was working against him. Similarly, he was afraid when he saw the Philistines before Gilboa, and his heart trembled greatly (28:5). Why? He may, indeed, have been by this time a nervous wreck, and consequently unwilling to face the horrors and perils of battle. But, on the whole, that is not the most probable explanation; he was too brave and seasoned a warrior to fear for his life. The grounds of his terror lie far deeper. He suspects that now the end of his life-work is come, and that the agonized prayer of his life, "Establish thou the work of my hands," will remain forever unanswered.

Then, in desperation, he seeks to ascertain the will of Jehovah; for though he has the best of reasons for believing that God has deserted him, he cannot do without God. The old religious nature of the man asserts itself: "I am sore distressed; God is departed from me" (28:15). Whether these be his actual words or not, they undoubtedly represent his mood. He calls for his old friend, Samuel, the man of God whose words had started him on the career which was now ending so sadly; and when he hears the words of doom, "He fell straightway his full length upon the earth, and was sore afraid" (28:20). This is the description of a man who is laboring under the most intense emotion. He was sore afraid, not only at the prospect of defeat in the coming battle, but also at the contemplation of his

shattered and defeated life. All day and all night, we are told, he had eaten no bread. This statement gives us a glimpse into the gloomy and abstracted thoughts of the unhappy king; and forth he went, with sullen bravery, to his doom, with night in his heart as black as the night through which he walked, forsaken, as he supposed, by the God whose presence he had, on all but one tragic occasion (so far as we know), sought to secure with scrupulous piety, and discouraged by the prophet who had turned him from the simple country life where he might have been not altogether unhappy, to ascend the slippery steps of a throne.

There is some truth in the contention that Saul was not a man of the very highest capacity. He was, before all things, a soldier, and he lacked that versatility which is necessary to the highest kinds of success in public life. The mental distemper with which he was afflicted, and which must often and painfully have interrupted his energy, was a fatal barrier to the highest form of achievement. And it must not be forgotten that this distemper was not due to jealousy of David. Jealousy aggravated it, but certainly did not create it; it was there from the beginning, a perpetual hindrance to all high endeavor, and no doubt it accounts for much in the pathetic career of the king. But the most fatal element in his character was his superstition. From the ancient point of view this is no doubt a misnomer; but the intensely religious nature of the man, encompassed as he was by difficulty and failure, and preyed upon by morbid thoughts, had all the crippling effects of a superstitious fatalism. Had he been able to shake off the conviction of his "rejection," he might have done even more than he did—and he did not a little—to give Israel her place as a nation among the nations of the East.

PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

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Among the Hebrews of the monarchy the prophet occupied a position which has no exact analogue among the other great nations of antiquity, and of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance. In the Jewish commonwealth the distinction between the religious and the secular, between church and state, was not recognized; and so the prophets who proclaimed the will and purposes of Jehovah to his people played a conspicuous part in the foreign and domestic policy of the nation. The great figures among those who held the prophetical office appear among the king's ministers and advisers, or—where they are in conflict with the reigning sovereign—they take their place as the natural leaders of the people (1 Kings 19:15 ff.). The "schools of the prophets" corresponded to our modern universities or theological colleges, and among the historians who recorded the narrative of the rise and fall of Israel, prophets take a prominent place (1 Chron. 29:29; 2 Chron. 9:29; etc.). In statecraft and in literature the great names are those of prophets. But the state was a theocracy, and the Hebrew literature essentially religious, law and history no less so than the literature of philosophy, ritual, or devotion. The "prophetical narrative" is the oldest collection of Hebrew annals which has come down to us. The Psalms breathe the prophetic spirit in every page. But the prophet was more than annalist or statesman or hymn-writer. He was the revealer of God's purposes and the exponent of his laws. Above all else, he was a preacher of righteousness. And, inasmuch as his title to be heard and obeyed rested on his claim to a direct inspiration from Jehovah, it was entirely independent of official appointment or of caste privilege or of kingly favor. "The word of the Lord came to me, saying—," that was his sole and sufficient commission. In this, his position was in sharp contrast, on the one hand, with that of a mere statesman like Ahitophel, or, on the other, with that of the priests who necessarily

belonged to a particular family, and for whom strict rules were laid down as to the conduct of their duties. He might, indeed, lead forth the people to battle, as did Samuel, or he might be a statesman, as was Isaiah, or a priest, like Jeremiah; but the prophetical calling had no more necessary connection with the priestly office than it had with the position of commander-in-chief. On occasion, the prophet might direct the course of a campaign, or, on occasion, he might offer sacrifice. No man dare gainsay him, for the spirit of Jehovah rested upon and inspired him. But the genuine prophet was never a mere official personage, and under ordinary circumstances he would not assume the duties which fell to others to discharge, and for which they had been trained and were specially qualified.

It does not need any prolonged reflection to understand that a calling such as this was little likely to be looked upon with favor by the official classes of the nation; and in course of time, as the simplicity of the Hebrew religion began to be overlaid by minute observances of ritual and by elaborate commentaries on the inspired law, the influence of the prophets of Israel began to wane. Not only is Malachi the last of the prophets whose writings were included in the canon; but we hear little of them after the return from the captivity and the establishment of the Roman sway. The Maccabean age did not produce prophets, although the need of a "faithful prophet" who should lead the people was keenly felt (1 Macc. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41). The rabbis took their place as the teachers, the scribes as the annalists, of the nation; and by the time of our Lord the priests had gained such a measure of ascendancy in ecclesiastical matters that a prophet who attempted to interfere with their methods of discharging their sacred office would have been treated with scorn, if not with legal penalties. The prophetical calling was in abeyance in the days of the Herods.

Yet the idea of the sanctity of a prophet's mission had never quite died out among the Jewish race; and the extraordinary influence which the preaching of John the Baptist exercised over the minds of the people was entirely in accordance with their historic traditions. "There went out unto him all the country of Judea and all they of Jerusalem" (Mark 1:5). Like his great predecessor, Elijah, he did not scruple to denounce the sins of those in high station, and he

suffered at the hands of Herod for his bold and uncompromising words of righteousness (Matt. 14:3, 4). Like many another prophet, he was a martyr to his message (Luke 1:47); Jerusalem had the unhappy reputation of a city that killed the prophets (Matt. 23:37). They could not live in that close atmosphere of ecclesiasticism.

But John the Baptist had achieved more than a temporary success as a popular mission-preacher. He had revived the idea, long dormant, that the prophet rather than the priest was the true revealer of God's will and purpose; and he had assured his hearers that One stronger than he (Mark 1:7) was coming after him to whom they must listen. And so when One arose in Galilee, "preaching the gospel of God" (Mark 1:14), men were prepared to listen, and it was not long before they were constrained to confess that "a great prophet is arisen among us, and that God has visited his people" (Luke 7:16). At his entry into Jerusalem the answer of the multitudes to the question, "Who is this?" was "This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee" (Matt. 21:11). We must not permit ourselves to forget that it was Jesus the Prophet of Galilee who won the allegiance and the love of those who became disciples of the Christ, for, in truth, the consummation of the prophetical office in his person was one of the beliefs most firmly impressed upon the mind of the apostolic age. Peter and Stephen both appeal to the forecast of the Deuteronomic law, "A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you from among your brethren like unto me," as fulfilled in him whom they adored as more than a prophet (Deut. 18:15 =Acts 3:22; 7:37). And the Christ himself had promised that prophets should appear after his ascension: "Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes" (Matt. 23:34; cf. Luke 11:49).

This was one of the leading thoughts of the first Judean Christians. The prophetical office had been revived with a majesty and a power of which their forefathers had not dreamed. "Ye are the sons of the prophets," Peter said to the people at Solomon's porch (Acts 3:25). The idea of the Christ as King did not conflict with national sentiment, but their hopes as to the manner of his kingship had been rudely disturbed; and so it was not till after some little time had passed that the church began to emphasize that aspect of his person, from a more spiritual point of view than that which could be occupied by

men who were eagerly looking for the overthrow of the Roman power and the re-establishment of an independent national life. Again, the conception of the Christ as Priest, though of the deepest importance for a true understanding of the salvation which he wrought and the graces which he bestowed, was not prominently before them at the first. Throughout his whole ministry he had been, to all appearance, directly opposed to the priests, and it was their machinations which brought him to the cross. Nor was the priestly office of Messiah at all as definitely foreshadowed and portrayed in the sacred books of the Old Testament as his other titles of King and Prophet. It is not until we reach the epistle to the Hebrews that this great Christian idea is unfolded and explained. It was Jesus the Prophet who mastered the Galilean peasants; and that this Jesus was the Christ, the servant of Jehovah of whom the ancient Scriptures had spoken, was the main thought of the first preachers of Christianity. In him the prophetical calling had reached its highest; by him it had been demonstrated, as never before, that priests are not the sole ministers of divine grace, but that the prophet whom they despise and persecute may be more truly God's messenger than they.

The inevitable effect of this Christology was a recrudescence of the prophetical calling. The first followers of the Christ had not ceased to be Jews, and yet they had ceased to have any confidence in the accredited ecclesiastical authorities of the nation. It was a thing entirely natural that they should find in a revival of one of the most ancient and sacred of their national callings that source of authoritative teaching which is essential to the life of any religious community. Their attachment to Jewish habits and institutions is apparent on every page of the early chapters of the Acts. They did not abandon the temple services, and they still observed the hours of prayer (Acts 3:1); it was only after a sharp struggle with themselves that they could concede that the initiatory rite of circumcision was not essential for church membership; they took over the ancient office of presbyter or elder from the system of the synagogue. And so, too, did they hail with thankfulness the revival of the office of the prophet. The gift of prophecy was now, as of old, the free gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:10); not a gift in which all men shared, but a gift by the exercise of which all the faithful might be advantaged (1 Cor. 14:4).

In one isolated instance the gift seems to have been shared in by women (Acts 21:9). Paul ranks *prophets* immediately after *apostles* and before *teachers* (1 Cor. 12:28), and he holds that the church is actually built upon the foundation of the "apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone" (Eph. 2:20). The "mystery of Christ"—that his gospel was to be catholic, for gentile as for Jew—was "revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit" (Eph. 3:5).

The Christian prophets, then, like the Jewish prophets, were men whose words of exhortation were received as God's message. Like the Jewish prophets, prediction was sometimes a characteristic of their utterances, as in the case of Agabus (Acts 11:27, 28; 21:10, 11), although neither under the law nor the gospel was this the most important or conspicuous part of the prophetical function. Elijah was counted one of the greatest of the prophets; yet no messianic prediction is ascribed to him. And so in apostolic days prediction was not the main characteristic of the message of the προφήτης. They were, however, something more than *teachers;* there is a wide difference between a man who is master of his message and a man whose message is master of him. Certainly "the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets" (1 Cor. 14:32); their utterances were not mere rhapsodies or expressions of frenzied ecstasy, like the utterances of heathen oracles. But they were inspired by a spirit not altogether their own, and their words were greater than they knew.

We meet with them several times in the Acts. Prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch with the view of gaining sympathy and relief for the poorer Judean Christians during the time of the impending famine (Acts 11:27–29); here they seemed to have played much the same part that is performed in our day by an eloquent preacher who is intrusted with the delivery of a "charity" sermon. A little later among the prophets and teachers at Antioch five are named—Barnabas, Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, and Saul (Acts 13:1)—from among whom Barnabas and Saul were selected for a special apostolic embassy (cf. Acts 14:4). Again, Judas Barsabbas and Silas, who were sent from Jerusalem to Antioch to convey to the church there the decision of the apostolic council as to

the terms on which gentiles might be admitted to membership, were prophets (Acts 15:32). Their function in virtue of their office was evidently to persuade and to preach: "Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words and confirmed them."

Once more, in the Apocalypse we find that prophets occupy a prominent place in the writer's vision of the church. The second "beast," Satan's coadjutor with the horns of a lamb and the voice of a dragon, who works signs and lying wonders, is described as preeminently "the False Prophet" (Rev. 13:11–14; 16:13, etc.). And in this Judeo-Christian book there is no mention of "bishops" or "deacons," nor of "presbyters," save the four and twenty who are before the throne (Rev. 4:4, etc.); but "apostles" and "prophets" are bidden to rejoice with the "saints" (Rev. 18:20). It is the blood of "saints" and of "prophets" that is avenged at last (Rev. 16:6; 18:24) when reward is to be given to "thy servants the prophets and to the saints" (Rev. 11:18). As "the saints" is the regular expression for the faithful in Christ, as in Pauline usage, so those who minister to them are uniformly described as prophets. And the seer of the Apocalypse counts himself also as a προφήτης (Rev. 22:9, "thy brethren the prophets"). The witness of this book thus entirely confirms our view of the important position which the "prophet" occupied in the earliest Christian communities.

When we pass into the sub-apostolic age, we find that there is a growing tendency for the itinerant ministry of apostles and prophets to be replaced by a local ministry of bishops and deacons. This latter is fully established at Corinth, and apparently at Rome, when Clement wrote his epistle to the Corinthians (about the year 97); and Clement tells us nothing about Christian prophecy. In Asia Minor in the days of Ignatius the monarchical episcopate is fully organized, and the only hint of the prophetical office in his epistles is in a passage where Ignatius speaks of the possibility of a direct revelation from God coming to him (*Eph.*, § 20), thus apparently regarding himself as a prophet. But it is in the *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"—a manual which in its present form goes back to the year 120 or thereabouts—that we gain the clearest view of the high estimation in which the Christian prophets were held. Rules are

laid down (§§ 10–15) for the welcome to be accorded to an apostle—i. e., a missionary—or a prophet when he visited a little community of Christians. He is to be entertained for two days at most, but one asking to be fed and lodged for a longer time is to be regarded as a false prophet. So, too, if he asks for money as his reward, or if his conduct does not agree with his words, he is to be rejected. But a genuine prophet, speaking in the spirit, is to be treated with veneration, and his message is to be received without questioning. The injunction is added: "Permit the apostles and prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire;" a rule which probably means (as will be seen if the context is examined) that the prophet is not bound to use the regular eucharistic prayers, but that he may pray *ex tempore*, as the phrase now is, at the celebration of the mysteries. And, finally, we have a hint of the gradual assumption of the prophetical office by the permanent officials of the church: "Appoint for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money and also true and approved; for unto you they also perform the service of the prophets and teachers." Here we see that spiritual functions are beginning to be provided for by a local ministry, as ordinary gifts begin to supersede extraordinary ones. The period of transition lasted longer in some places than in others. Justin Martyr just hints at the existence of Christian prophets in his time, although he seems to suggest that they were rarely to be met with: "Among us even to the present day there are prophetic gifts" are his words (*Dial.* § 82). But the prevalence of Montanism in certain quarters at the end of the second century shows how profound was the unwillingness of some to admit that the prophetical office had become obsolete.[1]

We have thus to recognize that the prophet was a person held in quite peculiar estimation in the early Christian church. His gifts were those suitable to a period of transition and of spiritual revival, and when his work was accomplished he gave place to the official leaders of the church whom we call bishops and deacons. Like the office of presbyter, the office of prophet was emphatically Jewish in its conception and in its origin, and in this as in other respects was contrasted with the office of bishop.

[1] See Eusebius, *H. E.*, 5:16, 17, for further mention of "prophets."

But the need for the prophet arises again and again in Christian history; and he must be blind to its teachings who does not recognize that again and again the man has been sent to supply the need. Francis of Assisi, the prophet of unworldliness; Savonarola, the prophet of liberty; Luther, the prophet of the divine compassion, whose central thought is that of the love of God in Christ; Wesley, Maurice, Newman, and all that goodly fellowship to whom it has been given by God to speak burning words of truth for him—these men are indeed prophets to their age and to posterity of the manifold grace of God. And in every age of Christian history their mission has been the same as that of the first prophet of the gospel age—to make ready a people prepared for the Lord. They go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways.

THE LATEST DISCOVERIES IN PALESTINE: CANAAN BEFORE THE ISRAELITES

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It is just twenty-four years since I first traveled in Palestine. As I was without tents, dependent for a night's lodging on the hospitality of the natives, I was able to move more rapidly than the ordinary traveler, and to explore districts which lie out of the usual route. One result of this was a pretty thorough exploration of the southern part of the old territory of Judah. Here I was struck by the number of *tels* that I came across, all of them marking the site of an ancient town, and for which neither maps nor guidebooks had prepared me. One in particular arrested my attention on account of its size and position, and so impressed was I with the possibilities which it offered to the excavator that on my return to England I told Sir Walter Besant, at that time the secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, that if he would provide me with a firman and six hundred pounds, I would undertake to find in it, not only the relics of pre-Israelitish Canaan, but cuneiform tablets as well.

Just then, however, the Fund had other work to finish, but my offer was not forgotten, and led indirectly to the excavations which were eventually made on the very site in question, now known to geographers and archæologists as Tell el-Hesy. As for the cuneiform tablets I believed to be lying in it, the very idea was laughed to scorn. It was in vain that I pointed to the name of Kirjath-Sepher, or "City of Books," destroyed by the Israelites on their entrance into Canaan, or to the reference to "the scribe's staff" in the Song of Deborah and Barak. I was told that Sepher did not in this instance mean a "book," and that the scribe's staff meant "a marshal's baton." Dr. W. Max Müller had not yet discovered the name of Kirjath-Sepher in an Egyptian papyrus of the Mosaic age—where, however, we have Sopher, "scribe," with the determinative of "writing" instead of the massoretic Sepher, "book"—and the

Hebraist was unacquainted with the palette staff of the Egyptian scribes, although it is a common object in museums.

For some years I preached to an unbelieving world the doctrine of the influence of Babylonian culture upon pre-Israelitish Canaan, and its necessary accompaniment, the cuneiform system of writing. Even when I published my *Hibbert Lectures*, my attempt to show in them that the gods and goddesses of Babylonia had been carried to Palestine met only with adverse criticism. Then, suddenly, a change came over the world of scholars. On the one hand, discoveries in Babylonia proved that Canaan had once been a Babylonian province, governed by Babylonian officers and under the influence of Babylonian law; on the other hand, the Tel el-Amarna tablets were brought to light in Upper Egypt. The whole of my contention, and more than the whole of it, was demonstrated to be fact: in the pre-Israelitish age Canaan had been a center of literary activity, and that literary activity was Babylonian. Its cities and smaller towns contained schools and archive-chambers, where the script and language of Babylonia were taught and cuneiform tablets were preserved.

The time had come at last for the work of excavation, which had been so fruitful in other parts of the ancient oriental world, to be undertaken in Palestine. Its methods had been perfected in Egypt and Greece, and a new science—that of archæology—had been built upon its results. The committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund secured the services of Professor Flinders Petrie, who had done so much toward establishing the new science, and it was determined to begin work at Tell el-Hesy.

In 1890, accordingly, the scientific recovery of the ancient history of Canaan commenced. The results of the first campaign were brilliant. The earlier history of the country, from a scientific point of view, had hitherto been a blank; its outlines were now sketched for the first time. The remains of the pre-Israelitish period were separated and distinguished from those of the period which followed the Israelitish conquest; and that pre-Israelitish period itself, like the subsequent period of Israelitish occupation, was further subdivided. Henceforward the archæologist knew what pottery was Amorite and what was Israelite, and thus had a scientific criterion for determining the age of a given site. The skeleton of the archæ-

ological history of Palestine had been restored once for all. Incidentally there were also other results. The great walls of the Amorite city, which the Israelites despaired of scaling, were uncovered and measured; the city itself was identified as Lachish; and the actual layer of ashes which marked its destruction by the Israelitish invaders was laid bare. There was thus an end to the guesswork of the theorist in his study; the spade had finally settled questions of geography and history which the scholar had endeavored to answer out of his own consciousness.

Professor Petrie's work was continued by Mr. Bliss. Scarabs and other objects of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty were discovered in the later Amoritish stratum, and eventually a cuneiform tablet, which I had seen there with the eye of faith ten years before, was brought to light. Unfortunately the discovery was made just as the excavator was finishing his work for the season, and still more unfortunately illness and the expiration of the firman for digging prevented Mr. Bliss from following it up. But it is now clear from Dr. Sellin's discoveries at Taanach that the archive-chamber of Lachish cannot be far off from the spot where the tablet was found.

For several years the Palestine Exploration Fund had the monopoly of excavating in the Holy Land. But other countries have now begun to emulate the example set by the English society, and before long we may hope that the recovery of the ancient history of Palestine will attract as much attention as that of Egypt or Babylonia. The Germans are now working at Tell el-Mutesellim, the Megiddo of the old Testament; the Austrians have just finished their excavations at the neighboring site of Taanach. Taanach was but a third-rate town in the old days of its history, but it has yielded remains of the highest archæological importance.

Like other mounds which mark the site of the cities of the ancient oriental world, that of Taanach had grown by the ruin and growth of successive settlements. City was piled upon city, the disintegrated mud bricks and shattered stone walls of the older settlement forming a convenient foundation for that which followed it. At Lachish the excavators found no less than six cities, three Amorite and three Jewish, separated from one another by the great layer of ashes which records in visible form the story of Israelitish conquest, and coming

down to the fifth or fourth century, B. C. At Taanach the excavator, Dr. Sellin, has brought to light a similar succession of towns. In the oldest of these he has discovered the fortified residence of the Canaanitish *shêkh*, who doubtless delighted to call himself a "king," and here, in an inner chamber, he has made a yet greater discovery—nothing less than the library and bookcase of the ancient town.

The bookcase consisted of a terra-cotta coffer of rectangular shape. Its lid had been removed and its contents scattered, two only of the clay tablets still remaining in it, while two others were found on the floor about a yard distant. I hear that sixteen more have been recovered this autumn, and it is possible that future research may succeed in bringing the whole library to light.

The language and script of the tablets are those of Babylonia. Two of them are letters addressed to a certain Istar-yisur, who seems to have been the *shêkh* or governor of the place, and I would translate them as follows:

To Istar-yisur: Akhi-yami. May the lord of the gods protect thy life; a brother art thou, and love is within thee and in thy heart. When I went down to Gurra [the Gur of 2 Kings 9:27], a workman gave me two knives and a spear and two skewers for nothing. And if the spear he has made is finished, I will forward it by the hands of Buridwa. Again: there is weeping for thy cities, and indeed they have attacked me, everyone who has attacked the cities. Now behold that I have acted rightly toward thee. Again: if I show my face, they are ashamed and sickness is on them (?). Again: let Ilu-rabi go down to the city of Rehab, and then he will send my man to thee along with an escort.

To Istar-yisur: Guli-Addi. Live happily! May the gods greet thee, thy house and thy sons! Thou hast written to me about the money . . . . and behold, I will give fifty pieces of silver, since this has not been done. Again: why hast thou sent here thy salutation afresh? All that thou hast heard there I have learned already through Baal-ram. Again: if the finger of Asherah (gives an omen), let them repeat and observe (it), and the sign and the fact thou shalt describe to me. As to thy daughter, we know her who is in the city of Rabbah, namely Salmisa, and if she grows up, thou shalt give her to sovereignty, for verily she is of age to be married.

The other two tablets are even more interesting than the letters. They are the first fragments that have come down to us of the official records of a Canaanitish city, and contain lists of the persons who could be called upon to serve in the militia. One of them is dated in the accession year of a king, and they prove to demonstration how

thoroughly the Babylonian language and the complicated cuneiform script had become the official and literary language and script of Canaan in the Mosaic age. Even the official registers of a third-rate town were kept in the foreign language and characters. The same fact is borne witness to by the letters, which, it will be observed, are not written to the Egyptian court, but by one petty official to another. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the correspondents were officials at all; all that we can be sure about is that they were Canaanites, and that the subjects of the correspondence were just those trivial events of daily life which will form the subject-matter of most of our own letters. Nothing can show more plainly how profoundly interpenetrated Canaan was by the literary culture of Babylonia, or how many schools there must have been in the country where the Babylonian language and cuneiform characters could be learned.

The clay tablets of Taanach thus carry us a step farther than the Lachish tablet which proved that Canaanitish officials wrote to one another in Babylonian cuneiform in the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that the Canaanitish cities had their libraries and archive-chambers like those of Babylonia and Egypt. But it did not prove, as the Taanach tablets have done, that the native and natural script of Canaan was the cuneiform of Babylonia, in which the state archives were kept, and which the ordinarily educated "gentleman" was expected to know.

How the literary culture of Babylonia thus came to be at home in Canaan we have learned from recent discoveries in Babylonia itself. For several centuries Canaan was a Babylonian province. The only title given to Khammu-rabi, the Amraphel of Genesis, on one of his monuments, is "king of the land of the Amorites," as Syria and Palestine were called by the Babylonians, and one of the official notes has been found in the Lebanon which were sent every year by the imperial government to its functionaries in order to notify them how the year was to be named. It belongs to the reign of the son and successor of Khammu-rabi, and reads: "Year when Samsu-iluna the king gave to Merodach a shining mace of gold and silver, the glory of the temple: É-Saggil it illuminated like the stars of heaven."

The conquest of Babylonia by the hordes of eastern mountaineers

put an end to the Babylonian empire in the west, but not to the continuance there of Babylonian civilization. Canaan, however, was overrun by invaders from the north, while its own princes, under the name of the Hyksos, led their forces into the valley of the Nile, and for a time made of Egypt a dependency of Syria. The Hyksos scarabs found by the English excavators in the south of Palestine bear eloquent testimony to the union that must have existed at the time between the two countries.

Foremost among the northern invaders were the non-Semitic populations of Mitanni and the Hittites. In the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets several of the Canaanitish chieftains still bore Mitannian names, and the correspondents of the Pharaoh complain of the intrigues of the king of Mitanni, or northern Mesopotamia, who still had designs on what had become an Egyptian province. But the Hittites were even more formidable than the Mitannians. Their incursions into the fruitful plains of Syria went back to the age of the Twelfth Dynasty, as we learn from an Egyptian monument, now in the Louvre, on which an official who lived under the first two kings of the dynasty tells us that he had taken part in a campaign against "the palaces of the Hittites" in the south of Canaan.[1]

We now, however, have evidence of more solid archæological value than this literary testimony to Hittite influence in southern Palestine at a very early date. In order to understand it we must again take up the story of excavation in the Holy Land and of the historical revelations that it has made to us. While Dr. Sellin was digging for the Austrians at Taanach, Mr. Macalister has been digging for the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer. The site has proved an important one, rich in archæological results, and in Mr. Macalister the Fund has been fortunate enough to have a thoroughly trained and able excavator, who knows how to observe and interpret his facts.

The history of Gezer goes back to an earlier epoch than that of Lachish. Its first inhabitants were troglodytes, living in caves and

[1] Professor Sayce seems to be misinformed as to the real meaning of this monument. There is no inscriptional evidence of the presence of Hittites in Palestine before the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580 B. C. on). I expect to publish the above Louvre monument in the next number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (April, 1905), to which the reader is referred.—J. H. B.

unacquainted with the use of metal. Their tools and weapons were of polished flint and bone, and their pottery was rude. They burned their dead, and their religious worship was connected with cup-marks which they hollowed out of the rocks. They were a race, too, of small stature, averaging from five feet to five feet seven inches only in height. Two distinct settlements of these people, an earlier and a later, have been found by the excavator. The later shows a slight advance in civilization upon the first: the pottery, for instance, begins to be ornamented with streaks of red or black on a yellow or red wash.

Then comes a break in the history of the *tel*. A new race, which we are accustomed to call Amorite, appears upon the scene, bringing with it a knowledge of bronze and the practice of burial. It was a race which had the physiological characteristics ascribed by ethnologists to the Semites, and was of fair size, from five feet seven inches to six feet in height. Gezer for the first time became a city, surrounded by walls of stone, and in its midst was erected a "high-place" formed of upright monoliths. This first Amorite city, the third settlement in succession on the site, corresponds to the earliest city at Lachish where no remains of the older neolithic people have been met with.

The first Amorite city was followed by a second, though the general character of the civilization, and therefore of the objects connected with it, remained the same. But the city walls and high-place were enlarged; bronze more and more took the place of flint, and the evidences of intercourse with Egypt became fuller. The walls were, indeed, what the Israelitish spies described them, built "up to heaven," and were as much as fourteen feet in thickness, and provided with square towers some twenty-four feet in diameter. Even more interesting than the walls is the old Canaanite high-place, the first that has been discovered intact. It consisted of nine monoliths, all except one from seven to eight feet in height, and set from north to south on a platform of great stones. The one exception is the second, which is only five feet and a half high, but as it has been polished by much kissing, the discoverer shrewdly concluded that it was the original sacred stone or *beth-el*—a conclusion since verified by the geologists, according to whom the stone has been brought from a distance. The eighth monolith stood apart on a stone socket, and

on its western face are a number of cup-marks. Between the fifth and sixth is a large square-socketed stone, while a circular structure lies to the west.

But a gruesome discovery has been made in connection with the high-place. Under the floor great jars have been found filled with the bones of children. Most of the children were not more than a week old, but in two cases at least they must have been as much as six years of age. In both these cases the bodies had been burned, like those of some of the infants. Similar examples of infant-sacrifice were found under the foundation walls of the houses, and Dr. Sellin met with other examples of the same horrible custom at Taanach. But it was only at the high-place that the children seem to have been burned, "passing through the fire to Moloch," as the Old Testament euphemistically terms it. In the Israelitish period the grim custom was modified. The children had been buried with a cup and bowl for the food and drink they needed in their passage to the other world; in the Israelitish age the jar was still buried under the wall of the house, but it contained only the bowl and lamp which had been substituted for the cup; the human sacrifice was absent. The culture of the Israelites may have been lower than that of the Amorites, but though the old superstition still lingered which required that the foundation of a building should be "laid in the first-born," they obeyed a law which deprived it of its grim realism.

Already in the ruins of the third city Egyptian scarabs occur, notably one of a king of the Sixth Dynasty. In the age of the fourth city they become plentiful along with other objects of Egyptian origin. At first they belong to the period of the Twelfth and Nineteenth Dynasties; as time goes on, they become Hyksos. Together with them have been found vases of diorite and alabaster, as well as mace-heads of Egyptian type, and a hippopotamus of terra-cotta. But the most important monument of Egyptian civilization is the stela of an Egyptian official, Amon-dudu by name, which appears to have been set up within the precincts of the high-place itself. Like the earlier scarabs, it is of the age of the Twelfth Dynasty, and makes it clear that Egypt must already have claimed and exercised some sort of suzeranity in the south of Canaan.

More valuable, however, to the archæologist than the Egyptian

stela, is the painted pottery which is found for the first time in the fourth city. Similar pottery was found in the later Amorite strata at Lachish, and it tells a very unexpected tale. For the pottery is Hittite, and was derived from the Hittite center in Cappadocia north of the Halys. Here, at the Hittite capital of Boghaz Keui, similar pottery has been disinterred, and Mr. Myers has shown that the red paint to which it owes its first origin was the famous *sandarakê* or "Armenian ochre" of Cappadocia. This trichrome pottery, with its peculiar designs, can now be traced from its original source of dissemination, not only westward to the coasts of the Ægean, but southward across the Taurus to Lachish and Gezer. In Palestine it rapidly superseded the wretched native pottery with its incised lines, and became more and more fashionable up to the time when the Israelitish conquest introduced new modes in pottery as in everything else. The foreign pottery of the cities which followed the conquest at Gezer and Lachish is Cretan in origin, even the lamps going back to a Cretan prototype, and marks the advent of the Philistines in the land which was afterward called after their name. At Taanach it was Cypriote, but there the older ware of the country was not replaced by a foreign import until the age of Solomon.

Iron first makes its appearance at Gezer in the latter period of the second Amorite city. It is not till we come to the city that corresponds in its remains with the Israelitish town which grew up on the ashes of the Amorite Lachish that it becomes at all plentiful. Bronze, in fact, long continued to hold its own, and while iron was used for agricultural implements and nails, bronze was still preferred for weapons of war. The ironsmith, however, had been long in the land, and a furnace with remains of iron slag was discovered at Lachish under the bed of ashes. The Canaanites, as we read in the Old Testament, had their chariots of iron, and an Egyptian satire on tourists in Palestine in the time of Ramses II describes the traveler as going to the smithy of an ironsmith when his carriage had been damaged on the mountainous roads.

THE BEATITUDES

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The Beatitudes form the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount—a part of Scripture which all good Christians value as one of their dearest possessions. Nor is the reason far to seek. The Great Teacher, whom Nicodemus with a true instinct recognized as having come from God, has opened his mouth; and salvation is flowing from his lips. Here, too, we stand at the source of Christian ethics. Never before were such truths uttered, such duties inculcated, or such blessedness revealed. Two things at once strike us with reference to the Beatitudes—their beauty and their impressiveness.

I. Their beauty is apparent to all. They are entirely in keeping with the fascinating character of the upland scenery amid which they were delivered. There is nothing like them in literature. No Greek philosopher, no ancient sage, no modern orator ever approached the divine attractiveness of this brief section of Holy Scripture. What gives to it such surpassing beauty? Three things at least contribute to this.

It has the beauty of eloquence. Human speech is capable of exerting an incalculable influence. Every generation has a few men with the voice of the charmer, able to sway multitudes by the power and persuasiveness of their speech. But no one ever possessed this influence to the same extent as the Lord Jesus Christ. "Never man spake like this man." We have many proofs of this, but none stronger than that furnished by these opening sentences of the Sermon on the Mount. Eloquence has been described as the full expression of all that is within. This definition enables us to understand the unapproachable eloquence of these words. They are the manifest expression of the soul of Jesus.

It has the beauty of simplicity. Nothing could be simpler than the language in which Jesus introduces his gospel and clothes his ethical teaching. It is the language of the people, conveying his

thoughts in conceptions the simplest possible to the human heart. He always incloses his jewels in the smallest setting. Such simplicity as we find here has a beauty of its own. The sayings are so plain and concise and perfect in every way that any exposition of them is apt to detract from their extraordinary force and power.

It has the beauty of spirituality. This feature runs through the whole passage. To read it is like taking a plunge into another world. It seems all so utterly different from the materialism with which we are surrounded, and amid which most of our life is passed. And we rise from the perusal of it with the feeling that it is unquestionably the noblest ideal picture ever drawn. But are we to rest satisfied with this? Some apparently have done so, and have looked on the Beatitudes as containing merely a suitable exhortation to the Twelve as they entered on the work of active discipleship. This, however, is a very inadequate view. Jesus is speaking both to the future apostles and to the people, and every word of his address is to be applied spiritually, and regarded as setting forth the religion of the heart.

No less striking than their beauty is the impressiveness of the Beatitudes. They have the boldness of novelty, the weight of wisdom, and the purity of heaven. We cannot conceive of Christ's audience as not listening, or as listening unmoved; for here we have in combination all the qualities that can appeal with power to the human soul. Two things about the Beatitudes are particularly impressive.

The first is the contrast they present to the teaching of the Old Testament as seen in the Mosaic law. As we look on while the Savior addresses "the multitudes" on this mountain ridge, our thoughts naturally go back to another mountain full of interest for the people of God. A very different atmosphere encircles the two mountains. Thunder and lightning and thick darkness surround Sinai, the mountain whence proceeded the law and the curse on those who should disobey it; but calm, bright sunshine rests upon this nameless mount, which we shall not err in calling the Mount of Blessing. The gospel comes, not as a stern command, but as a fulfilled promise; not as law, but as blessedness.

The relation between the law of Moses and this manifesto of Jesus is not, however, fully stated by saying that it is one of contrast;

for the latter has been rightly regarded as the spiritual interpretation of the former. In Jesus the law is not destroyed, but fulfilled, and guarded against the false interpretations of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and other Jewish sectaries of the age. The Christian graces commended by our Lord must have appeared to many of his hearers in a very revolutionary light. Their ambitious notions and pharisaical estimation of themselves were in sharp contrast to the utter anti-worldliness of the discourse addressed to them. We can conceive their chagrin and disappointment when their expectations of worldly greatness to be realized on the advent of the Messiah were declared to be vain and illusive, and when, instead of their cherished maxim, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," that other was announced for their practice, "Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth."

But, some will say, have we not in effect a new law here? Must we not regard Christ as another lawgiver, obedience to whose law will bring salvation? His grace we know is freely given, but are not the fruits of grace demanded in such a way as to reintroduce the element of law? This is too large a question to discuss here, and we content ourselves with stating it as a point worth attention and serious thought. There are some difficulties connected with it, and chiefly this: How are we to reconcile justification through faith with the New Testament doctrine that believers shall be judged according to their works? Some would answer that, while all believers shall be saved, the difference in works will determine the difference in the degree of blessedness to be enjoyed. But in regard to this our theological systems need to be marked by more definiteness of statement.

Another very impressive feature of the Beatitudes is that they are all opposed to our usual way of thinking. To take an example: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Although the primary reference here is probably to grief caused by the consciousness of sin and unworthiness, there is no reason for excluding the common application of the saying to the case of those who mourn the loss of departed friends. We say of one upon whom sorrow or bereavement has fallen, "Poor man, he is sorely troubled;" but the Savior says, "Blessed is he." We compassionate the man; Jesus congratulates him. We consider him as greatly afflicted;

Jesus looks on him as greatly blessed. There is a striking difference in the two ways of regarding the man. Both are proper, and both are necessary. It is because we are apt to forget the truth conveyed in the way that Jesus puts it, that he sets it forth here so impressively as the great thing to be remembered, and not because he is lacking in sympathy for the distressed. No one ever so deeply sympathized with afflicted ones as he, and we can do no more acceptable service than imitate him in the relief of suffering. Thus, then, while we need not give up the natural feelings of our hearts in regard to the subject of mourning, but ought rather to cherish them, we must bear in mind that there is another side from which Jesus here regards it when he speaks of the inward peace which may exist unseen, and which often breaks in upon us in the day of trouble. Affliction makes mourners of us, but when out of its clouds there comes the calm, sweet sunshine of heavenly grace and truth, we are able to see how exactly our Lord stated the case when he said: "Blessed are they that mourn."

II. The Beatitudes announce the perfect blessedness of Christ's people. The Savior here lays down his doctrine of happiness. One is struck by the boldness of his words. He is ready to deal with any case, even with such as are apparently most unpromising. He does not recognize any as beyond the reach of the gracious power of his doctrine. Let a man be in affliction, or under persecution, or filled with poverty of spirit—Jesus does not despair of giving him perfect happiness. Nay, he says there is a very important sense in which only those who are thus circumstanced can inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

Here, then, we have the solution of the question often put: Is there such a thing as true blessedness? Is it an attainable reality, or is it merely one of fancy's fond but foolish pictures? Is it a veritable fact, or simply an engaging subject of speculation? Are we to set it before us as a real and realizable object, as actually possessed by many, and capable of being possessed by all; or is it only a grim, sarcastic mockery on the woe-worn lives of mortals? Most men and most philosophies are ready with the answer that true and perfect blessedness is not a dream; it really exists. But when we come to ask what it is, and how it is to be reached, we meet with many diverse and conflicting replies. Riches, say some; pleasure, say others;

wisdom, say others still, is what confers blessedness. Each of these has had its votaries in almost every age. The writer of Ecclesiastes tried all three, but gave each up in turn as it failed to supply the chief good of which he was in quest.

The true solution lies before us in those sublime words with which our Lord prefaces his Sermon on the Mount. Their keynote is the idea of blessedness; and if we take a conjunct view of their teaching, we may regard that as the sum of the revealed and authoritative truth on this subject. He whose character harmonizes and blends the several qualities here specified as bringing blessing in their train, he, and he alone, is truly blessed.

It is also worth while to note that the first word uttered by our Lord in the exercise of his public ministry was this word "blessed," and that he repeated it over and over again. We may view it as the watchword of salvation, and as expressive of the purpose of the Savior's coming. He came to seek the lost and make them blessed. How it should rejoice the hearts of sinners to know that this is the class of persons for whom blessedness is prepared—to know that the highest blessedness may be the portion of those who have sunk themselves in lowest misery! It is from their ranks that Jesus draws his disciples. He creates in them a new heart. By implanting his grace within them he makes it possible for them to exhibit in their character the qualities which he specifies here as befitting those who are called by his name, and which he declares to bring happiness to everyone in possession of them. Each of the Beatitudes contains a promise, and each also implies an exhortation to cultivate such a state of heart as will lead us on to the blessedness of which they speak.

In reading the life of Christmas Evans, "the preacher of wild Wales," the present writer was interested to discover the way in which this truth of the blessedness of Christians is expressed in the Welsh language. It helped him to realize more fully than ever before the deep significance of this word "blessed." To the Welshman the man who is blessed is the man for whom there is *a white world*. "When you read, 'Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity,' the Welshman reads his Bible and sees there is a white world for such a one; i. e., all sin wiped out, the place quite clean, to begin again." But not even this exhausts the picture of

blessedness called up to the mind of the Welsh Christian by the literalness of his language. He sees in the man who is blessed the man for whom a white world is prepared; he sees heaven in the name as he reads: "There is a white world for the poor in spirit, a white world for the merciful, a white world for the pure in heart." He sees the thing in the word. Does not this singularly beautiful idea help us very much toward a right understanding of the meaning of our Lord? The Christian differs from other men in this, that through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, even the forgiveness of sins, he lives in a white world, although placed in a dark world, and can look forward to a white robe in a white world in the ages to come.

III. The Beatitudes declare the qualifications needful to secure the blessedness of which they speak, i. e., the conditions of membership in Christ's kingdom.

Our Lord makes it very plain what manner of men the members of his kingdom must be. They must be poor in spirit, and pure in heart, meek and merciful, peaceable and patient, bewailing sin, and ardently desiring righteousness. It is a good exercise for us as Christians to consider from time to time the hold which these terms have upon our affections, and to ascertain whether we are most drawn or repelled by them. They furnish us with a spiritual thermometer by which we may measure the warmth of our piety and the depth of our zeal. In setting before us the picture of the blessed of Jesus, they inevitably suggest the question: "How do we compare with it?" Every time we contemplate it we must say with growing conviction: "Truly his kingdom is not of this world;" and conceive of our discipleship accordingly, as those whose citizenship is in heaven. What the Savior promises to his people is just that after which they long and strive—the Kingdom of God, heaven, perfect blessedness in the vision of God. The way to the kingdom must be that which Jesus prescribes, and that which he himself has so nobly exemplified both by word and deed. We must seek inwardly to possess, and outwardly to exhibit, the qualities over which he pronounces his benediction.

These qualities are the reflection of his own spirit. Who ever hungered and thirsted after righteousness like him whose meat and

drink it was to do the will of God? Was not he meek and lowly in heart, calling on men to follow him in this particular, and find rest unto their souls? Who was ever more merciful and compassionate than he, the Good Physician? Who ever had so pure a heart as he who knew no sin, and whom God made to be sin in our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in him? Who has done so much in the interests of peace as he who came to make peace between heaven and earth? Who was ever persecuted for righteousness' sake like him who was nailed to the ignominious cross? So he lived and suffered, and now he ever liveth in that blessed vision of God which he here promises to his people. The glory of Christ will be shared by all who have the mind of Christ.

This first picture of true discipleship shadows forth all that followed. To the end Christ knew no other Christianity than this: "If any man will follow after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me." In all the apostolic writings, however different the modes of thought distinctive of the various writers, we find the same noble striving after a heavenly life, carried on in the exercise of the graces here unfolded and in the face of the persecution here described. Throughout there is the significant paradox: "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing." To our human nature such strenuous endeavor after righteousness is not easy. But out of the earthly material there may be evolved the higher life. Christ's kingdom is destined to rise on the ruins of the kingdom of this world. Our earthly surroundings are to be viewed as opportunities given us for striving after a higher kingdom—that which Jesus has revealed, and entrance into which shall bring us in the end where he is now, that we may behold his glory. The ideal attitude for the Christian is to be daily "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of faith," who is ever calling to men alike from cross and throne: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, the merciful, the pure, the peaceable, the persecuted: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

THE ADVANTAGE OF USING A PARALLEL GREEK AND ENGLISH EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Doubtless it is not "scholarly" to use a parallel Greek and English New Testament, whether the English is in a column beside the Greek, on the opposite page, or between the lines.[1] But it is practical. Theoretically, every graduate from a theological seminary reads the Greek text at sight, with perfect ease, and scorns the necessity of consulting a lexicon except for the meaning of the rarest words.

Practically, this is not the case. A large number of ministers, when they wish to read a brief passage in the New Testament for reference, turn to the English version. Why is this? Because they are afraid that if they consult the Greek alone, they will be unable to read the passage. While they may be familiar with a majority of the words, there is a mental tremor lest some unfamiliar term may arise like a ghost and "dispute the passage." The difficulty is increased if the word is imbedded in a context that is complex. It is feared that, after all, the English will have to be consulted, or the lexicon drawn upon, and, in the end, double time be lost.

This characterization does not apply to continuous daily exegetical work, where, irrespective of the demands of next Sunday's sermon, a succession of verses or paragraphs is exhaustively investigated. Nor does the difficulty arise when there is exegetical work to be done in the preparation of a sermon and the preacher seeks all the light that can be obtained for next Sunday's text from lexicon, concordance and commentary. The picture applies chiefly when there is need of quick consultation in daily reference work.

[1] There are several such editions on the market: Harper & Brothers issue an edition containing the Westcott and Hort text on one page and the English Revised Version on the opposite page. Hinds & Noble, of New York, issue one containing the Stephens text with the Authorized Version in parallel columns, and a literal rendering of each word between the lines. The University Press, Cambridge, issues Dr. Scrivener's edition, the Textus Receptus on one page, with the readings adopted by the Revisers in the margin, and on the opposite page in parallel columns the English versions of 1611 and 1881.

Now, observe the advantage of the parallel or interlinear edition for this labor of rapid consultation. The student never hesitates. He turns immediately to the passage in question in the parallel edition. If time permits, he consults the original. If time is limited, he reverts to the mother-tongue. If he refers to the Greek, he knows that, should he meet an impediment, he can have immediate recourse to the English. In other words, he uses a crutch. Crutches are not always of value; but crutches are not always to be despised.

The mathematical argument is very strong here. The total number of Greek passages consulted in accordance with this method is greater in any particular year, than of those consulted in accordance with the more scholarly method of using the Greek text alone. Every Greek passage read is a benefit to the student. The simple passage of Greek words across the retina of the eye is of value. Bare pronunciation is even advantageous. Each impression deepens the total image. Certain words become ingrained in the mental fiber. They are soon quickly recognized on sight. Their cognates speedily come into the circle of relationships, and thus the happy family is enlarged. Even when one takes up his interlinear edition for the simple purpose of skimming the meaning of a passage, he is tempted to read more than he had planned, and to trace some new term by lexicon and synonym, to its most recondite meaning. Always some increment of knowledge remains from such a glance. The English becomes less and less a dependence. Ideas clothe themselves in Hellenist dress. Eventually whole paragraphs are read with an ease which once would have been a despair. Next, the appetite is whetted to read the Greek text only. The process advances a step. The pure Greek text is held in the hand, and the parallel version becomes the crutch. Finally, the crutch is thrown away, and the unsupported original alone is used. An ambition seizes the student to know all the Greek possible, and every spare moment is devoted to that noble purpose, subject to the limitations of pastoral work.

The argument is simple. A little Greek is better than no Greek: more Greek is better than less. The gradual gain is far out of proportion to the labor expended.

THE GROUND OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE[1]

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Whatever authority the Bible has, is no actual authority to men until it is recognized as such. In order to be recognized, its true character must be known. This character is discerned intellectually through critical examination, and spiritually through devout meditation on it. Criticism which aims to ascertain the exact history and real characteristics of the Bible is indispensable to the best understanding and usefulness of it.

Strictly speaking, the Bible is not our main and ultimate authority. That authority for the Christian is Jesus Christ. Even he is no authority to a man till he is seen to bear the marks of it. But once accepted he is supreme over our faith.

In what sense the Bible—especially the New Testament—is an authority may be best seen by putting ourselves back to the time of the first preaching of the gospel. There was then, and for a generation longer, no New Testament. Men believed on the ground of the oral testimony of the apostles and disciples of Christ. Conceivably the gospel might have been propagated till now in that way. It is still largely taught orally rather than by means of the Bible.

The New Testament is the written deposit of the oral teaching of the apostles. Whatever reason was first had for believing in Christ on the ground of apostolic testimony we have now for accepting the New Testament as the truthful record of the gospel of salvation.

Christian experience and the Christian Scriptures come from the same source—from Christ himself. Therefore in general they cannot disagree. The Christian consciousness is sometimes spoken of as a rival authority to the Bible. This is impossible. If one's judgment rejects the New Testament in its general and characteristic

[1] A report of an extemporaneous address delivered at the meeting of the American Bible League, December 8, 1904.

features, that judgment cannot be a Christian judgment. Doubts may be raised concerning minor or incidental features of the Bible, but those can be justified to the Christian mind only when these features are shown to conflict with the general tenor of the Scriptures. The general authenticity of the New Testament must be assumed as impregnable. It must be regarded as our most original and trustworthy source of information concerning Christ and his gospel. It must be maintained as the standard of faith; else we have no standard.

Christian criticism consequently can never result in a general discrediting of the Christian Scriptures. It has already done very much by way of vindicating their general authenticity against the assaults of skeptics. Its function is to interpret their meaning; to distinguish in them between the fundamental and the incidental, between the permanent and the transient; and to expose erroneous conceptions concerning them, whether Christian or non-Christian.

The authority of the Bible does not depend on proving its infallibility. Trying to prove its absolute inerrancy is nearly as harmful as trying to prove its general fallibility. What is to be insisted on is the supreme authority of Christ. The Scriptures are to be studied in order the better to learn what he is, and what he requires of us.

Current Opinion

The Autocracy of the Pew

In the *International Quarterly* for January, 1905, Professor Hyslop, of Columbia University, discusses "Philosophy and Modern Life" in a way that can hardly please the teachers of philosophy. Professor Hyslop insists rather pointedly that philosophy is not wanted by the scientist, and is scouted by the man of religion, unless it substantiates his own beliefs. The transition is easy from this jeremiad over philosophy to one over the limitation of the preacher. "The parishoner," says Professor Hyslop, "asks his pastor to teach him the gospel, and then holds the pursestrings as a check against being told what he does not like." It is a striking sentence, is it not? But is it true? Most people not in sympathy with the churches undoubtedly believe so. And there certainly is enough basis of truth in the statement to cause anxiety. For it cannot be denied that the dependence of many, if not most, pastors upon the favor of their parishioners compels them to conform in too large a degree to the theological prejudices of men and women who, however successful in their own fields of activity, can and do think little about theological matters. Religious teaching is undoubtedly freer today than ever before, but it is far enough from being free. This is one reason why more exceptional men do not become ministers. As layman one not only is free himself, but he can to a considerable degree dictate what his teachers shall teach him!

Yet this is only one side of the matter, one should always remember. There is an increasing number of men in the ministry who will submit to no dictation from those whom they are endeavoring to instruct. They are prophets rather than co-operatively supported private chaplains. In their minds commercial success is not synonymous with theological omniscience. And it is these men—some of whom are likely to be modern martyrs—who are the hope of the church of tomorrow.

The New Interest in the Resurrection

Interest in the resurrection of Jesus is perennial, but of late it has extended to the reviews. In the *Journal of Religious Psychology*, in the *Hibbert Journal*, in the *Nineteenth Century*, and in the *Contemporary Review*, not to mention others, are articles dealing either directly or indi-

rectly with the matter. And the interesting fact is that men are treating the subject seriously—some favorably, others otherwise, but always seriously. In the light of these papers it is a far cry back to the arrogant denials and equally arrogant defense of a generation ago. Thanks to psychologists and psychical research, we are getting to see that immortality is a scientific as well as a purely religious matter; and, what is more, we are coming to see that religion itself is not altogether outside the limits of scientific investigation. Unless we altogether mistake, this attitude of mind is to have a great influence in supplementing other theological and biblical movements toward a new era of positive rather than metaphysical Christian faith. It is to be hoped that it will not also reinforce superstition.

Is it Pagan to be Happy?

President Hyde, of Bowdoin College, in his extremely stimulating volume, *From Epicurus to Christ*, shows clearly the truth which lies in the four great systems of Greek philosophy, and even more clearly how in Christianity these various excellences are preserved, correlated, and made practical. One sentence of the book is worth quoting: "Mill, Spencer, and others have endeavored to graft the altruistic truths of Christianity on to that of the old Epicurean stock. . . . . Christianity includes everything of value in Epicureanism and infinitely more. It has the Epicurean greatness without its exclusiveness; its joy without its selfishness; its naturalness without its baseness; its geniality without its heartlessness." This conjunction of Christianity and Epicureanism may shock some good people. Thanks to a great variety of circumstances, it is very difficult for many of us to feel that for most Christians duty lies along the pleasing way. A conscientious person face to face with a conflict of duties feels a little more sure of himself if he chooses the one that is disagreeable. But a moment's thought will convince anyone that such estimates are an insult to the divine Will. The chief end of life is not to be miserable. Innocent enjoyments are as open to living Christians as they were to dead pagans. The finest Christians are those who do not permit the sense of duty to cloud life, and who are able to see God's fatherliness where Jesus himself saw it—in the simple joys of social life, in parental love, and in nature. He is a poor child of God who thinks that his Father would rather have him cry than smile.

Work and Workers

THE University of Manchester, England, has recently established a faculty of theology. Professor Arthur S. Peake is the dean of the faculty.

PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY has recently published a volume containing in enlarged form the articles which have been appearing in the *Expository Times* dealing with the Seven Churches of Asia.

THE *Hibbert Journal* for January contains the third and conclusive article by Professor B. W. Bacon, of Yale, upon "The Fourth Gospel." It is to be hoped that these essays will be published in book-form.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS announce the immediate publication of two theological works of the first importance: Sabatier's *The Doctrine of the Atonement and Religion, and Modern Culture*, and Harnack's *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.*

REV. W. P. BEHAN, Ph.D., pastor of the Wealthy Avenue Church, Grand Rapids, Mich., has been elected director of the Baptist Students' Guild of Ann Arbor. He will succeed Dr. Allan T. Hoben, who has recently accepted the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Detroit.

THE interest in the question of students for the ministry seems to be becoming more widespread; nor is it confined to religious publications. The *World's Work* recently published an article on the subject by Dr. E. T. Tomlinson, and *The World To-Day*, another by President W. R. Harper.

THE Second Florida Winter Bible Conference will be held at Gainsville, Fla., February 5–20. The Christian Worker's Institute follows the conference, closing March 1. Among the speakers will be J. Wilbur Chapman, A. C. Dixon, E. I. D. Pepper, W. E. Blackstone, and Mrs. Margaret Bottome.

THE new *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* which is being edited by Dr. James Hastings is already well under way. No announcement has been made as to the time of the publication of the first volume, but it undoubtedly will appear during the current year. The purpose of this new dictionary is to do for the gospels what the editor's great *Dictionary of the Bible* has done for the Bible as a whole.

THE annual convention of the Religious Education Association, which is to be held in Boston February 12–16, has already been noticed in these pages. Attention should again be called to it, as its sessions promise to

be of remarkable interest. Arrangements have been made for a special train, a duplicate of the Lake Shore Limited, to leave Chicago, for the convenience of delegates. A reduced rate of a fare and one-third for the round trip has been secured. It is to be hoped that many from the West will go to the Convention.

ENCOURAGING progress is being made in the formation of local guilds of the Religious Education Association. In the Hyde Park Guild of Chicago, to cite but one instance, there are nearly three hundred active members, a special committee in every church and district, a lecture course averaging two hundred in attendance, and a teacher-training course averaging one hundred in attendance. A small teachers' library is in circulation, and steady progress is being made by the Sunday schools of the district, although this is only the first year of the work.

AMONG the various agencies tending toward a better theological knowledge are the ministers' institutes which are being conducted by various denominations. As successful as any are those held during the month of June by the Methodist church in the South. The systematic extension of theological education of which these institutes are a part is also being extended by the correspondence school connected with the theological department of Vanderbilt University. This work, first tried as an experiment under the direction of Jesse L. Cuninggim, became at once a remarkable success, and is already bearing fruit throughout the South.

THE New York Sunday School Commission of the Episcopal church is a large factor in the present advance in Sunday-school methods. It was under its auspices that a few years ago the very stimulating book *Principles of Religious Education* appeared as a series of lectures, and now it has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin*, the first number of which appeared in December, 1904. While specially devoted to the interest of the Episcopal church, the *Bulletin* contains material of much value for all those interested in religious education. The recent number contains specimens of graded curricula, with the necessary literature.

HOW A SMALL SUNDAY SCHOOL WAS GRADED

A FEW years ago the pastor of a small country church said to a certain Sunday-school worker who had had considerable success in the grading and administration of a large Sunday school: "Your work is different from ours. When you make your methods succeed in a small school, then you can help us in our work." This remark only voices the prevalent idea that a comprehensive system of grading cannot be used in a school of

less than one hundred members. Yet this has been done, imperfectly but effectively, in a school of only fifty pupils, situated in a village of about three hundred inhabitants, one-half of whom are Roman Catholics. Since there could be no great growth in numbers here, energy could be devoted to increasing the efficiency of the religious instruction in the school.

The school was graded according to a system which required seven grades, the pupils remaining in the lower grades two years, in the upper grades three years. The Bible Study Union lessons were used throughout, quarterly examinations were instituted, and teachers' meetings held. The first grade was taught by kindergarten methods, using the sand-tray and kindergarten occupations. The first year there were no pupils in the third grade or the seventh grade, though these grades were provided in the system. The second year the school had pupils in all grades except the seventh. By various adaptations the work of the school was thus made as efficient as was possible with untrained teachers of limited education. Greater interest was aroused, and the Bible was really studied where before it had been scarcely glanced at. For two years this school received first prize for doing the best work in its own district, though in competition with many larger and apparently better equipped schools.

The work has been carried on in this way for four years now, and with increasing success, though the pastor who started it is no longer with the church. The few workers have grasped the idea, and have continued the work on their own responsibility and by the use of the same methods. The system of grading used here is not as elaborate as that employed in many other and larger schools; yet in any school, no matter how small, it is possible to introduce true gradation and make it successful. Even if there were fifty grades and only one pupil, that one pupil could be passed from grade to grade and run the whole gamut of the grades in the course of time. Numbers may give greater enthusiasm, but a small school may be made proportionately more effective because it is possible to be more intimately acquainted with the needs of the pupils.

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Book Reviews.

Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit. By AUGUSTE SABATIER, late Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris. Translated by LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904. Pp. xxxii + 410. $3.50.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the real divisions of modern Protestantism are no longer those of traditional denominationalism. Spiritual affinities between men of a given attitude toward the methods and conclusions of critical scholarship are closer than are denominational ties. Protestantism is being reorganized under the influence of modern thought. The living issue which is now foremost has found classic exposition in this last book from the pen of the gifted, lamented French theologian, Sabatier. A religion of authority, or the religion of the Spirit? Every thoughtful man must take sides on this question. Moreover, the way in which the problem is to be solved is comparatively new. *A priori* discussion between intrenched theologians and free-lance rationalists no longer attracts serious attention. We have come to see that history is the final arbiter. However admirable any doctrine may be from the point of view of logical consistency, its fate in the modern world depends upon the answer to the simple, but searching question: Is it, as a matter of fact, true? Sabatier has not only stated the present living issue with utmost clearness; he has also shown the only way in which an abiding solution can be reached. The book is thus of extraordinary significance.

The author first examines the Catholic dogma of infallibility, showing the historical steps leading to the final statement of papal infallibility. Having seen how the doctrine grew, he then asks: Has the church, as a matter of historical fact, been infallible? A reading of the historical decisions of councils and popes compels a negative answer.

> But, oh, the irony of human things! The end of it all is that this quasi-divine power, in exalting itself, has destroyed its sure foundation, and henceforth rests only upon itself, that is to say, upon its own affirmation, with no possible justification either in history or in reason. . . . . Its power is henceforth simply a power of fact, exposed, like every other fact, to the hazards of history. (P. 135.)

Turning now to Protestantism, Sabatier shows that the original problem of the Reformers was this: "What is the true authentic Christianity,

that which gives peace, regenerates, saves?" Neither Luther nor Calvin supposed that the substitution of an external Bible for an external church as a court of appeal could bring inner assurance. It was because the Spirit awakens in man's heart a response to the message of the Bible that it is to be regarded as God's Word. The dogma of an infallible Bible came to the front because of the necessity for opposing to the Catholic claim of infallibility a counter-claim of the same sort. This dogma was elaborated into the same ideal logical perfection as was the Catholic dogma.

Sabatier asks concerning this Protestant dogma, just as concerning the Catholic dogma, what the verdict of history is. Varied textual readings, discrepancies in narratives, naïve scientific notions, and fallible translations—all show that "the Protestant dogma of the infallibility of the Bible is not only inconceivable to thought; it is also useless in fact" (p. 187). But if the dogma of infallibility be historically untrue, Protestantism is in no position to compete with Catholicism as an authority-religion. It has no pope to defy history in the name of divine authority.

What, now, is the religion of the Spirit? Many readers will feel that when Sabatier passes from his critical task to his constructive problem, he becomes vague where before he was precise and definite. But it is evident that the content of the religion of the Spirit cannot be derived by the citation of objective proof-texts. It must be ascertained by consulting living experiences and convictions, not by referring to documents apart from such experiences. This was clearly indicated by Calvin in the famous seventh chapter of the first book of his *Institutes*. The only absolute authority is God himself testifying to the heart of the believer. Any historical fact or statement derives authority only as it unmistakably proves itself to be the medium through which God speaks to the soul. All external authority is thus subject to the final judgment of the Spirit within.

Does this mean that Sabatier would cut loose from objective fact and insist that every man shall evolve his religion out of his own consciousness? By no means. His very appeal to history shows a far more reverent regard for objective fact than is evidenced by an authority-religion which must deny facts in order to maintain a given dogma. But history is for Sabatier the food on which life must be nourished. Religious convictions grow out of this life; they are not to be taken ready-made from documents. The utterances of prophets and apostles need no credentials other than their actual power to bring God into man's life; yet they are indispensable agencies for this end. An authority which needs to be established by argument, however, is a weak crutch upon which to lean. As Calvin said: "How will the impious ridicule our faith and all men call it in question,

if it be understood to possess only the precarious authority depending on the favor of men!" This sentence, uttered in criticism of Catholic authority-religion, is equally applicable to Protestant authority-religion.

Whatever may be thought of Sabatier's constructive programme, he has at least made one thing clear. An authority-religion is fatally exposed to the verdict of historical criticism. The religion of the Spirit is released from all fear of historical criticism. But the problem still remains: What is the true relation of this religion to the Bible and to the historic creeds of Christendom? This question must be answered before an intelligent use of the Bible is possible in Protestant churches which regard themselves as exponents of the religion of the Spirit. It is to be regretted that Sabatier could not have given a clearer answer to this question; though, as has been suggested above, the answer must come by way of a profound insight into the psychology of religious convictions, rather than by way of establishing an external program. Thus, after all, Sabatier has here also shown the right method approach to the problem.

G. B. S.

A Short Introduction to the Gospels. By E. D. BURTON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 144. $1.

Studies in the Gospel according to Mark. By E. D. BURTON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. xx+250. $1.

Introduction more than commentary is now the need of the average Bible student. This *Short Introduction to the Gospels*, including a chapter on the synoptic problem, has a definite aim, and without superfluous words goes straight to its mark. It uses chiefly internal evidence, and asks each gospel to disclose its own secret.

The chapter on "The Gospel according to Matthew," closing with a table of contents which exhibits excellently its general plan, will be welcome to all students of that difficult New Testament book. One must, however, work out in detail the lines of evidence indicated, in order to appreciate the significance of more than one conclusion to which they lead. For instance: "the writer has wrought out all his material into a real book, with a definite course of thought and a clearly defined aim." "Though so different in form, it reminds us by its purpose of the epistle to the Hebrews." "There is much to suggest that our evangelist wrote not indeed for the same persons, but for those who were exposed to a similar danger." Finally, "it carries the doctrine of the apostle Paul to the conclusion which Paul

saw to be involved in it, but to which he was not wont himself to press it." Dr. Burton's remark in a later chapter concerning the authorship of the fourth gospel would also fitly apply here: "The knowledge of the author which we most need to assist us in the interpretation of the book is not his name, but his historical situation, his relation to Jesus and to the facts that he relates."

The notes appended to the chapter on Luke's gospel merit particular attention. Note II is on "The Enrolment in the Governorship of Quirinius." In view of the discoveries of Grenfell and Hunt, and the facts gathered by Ramsay, the opinion is expressed on p. 74 that "the date of the birth of Jesus must be provisionally assigned to 7 B. C." From another note (see p. 120) one derives a different impression of the author's opinion.

Dr. Burton's view of the Johannine problem will command attention. A single quotation will state it in part.

> The narrative of the life and discourses of Jesus proceeds from an eye-witness of the events, a personal disciple of Jesus, in all probability John the son of Zebedee. The whole material has, however, been melted and recast in the mind of the author. Lapse of time, change of surroundings, contact with a new type of thought . . . . have all operated to make the book not merely a narrative of the life of Jesus, but a series of historical sermons shaped to meet the needs of living readers. This material left the hand of the author, moreover, not in the form of the book we have, but in a number of smaller books.

This booklet theory seems to us, we confess, extremely precarious, creating quite as many difficulties as it relieves.

To expound the synoptic problem in less than twenty small pages of English is to do the impossible. No other book that the reviewer knows of does it so well as this. It is perhaps his prejudice that leads him to desiderate a more distinct statement of that which constitutes the central contention of those who advocate "the oral gospel theory." It is also a question whether the student does not need, before taking up the introduction to Matthew's gospel, a forward glance at the nature of the synoptic problem. There is need at the very outset of a distinct reminder that "the synoptic gospels resemble one another in purpose, as in scope and content, by more than they differ the one from the other" (see p. 62).

The *Studies* in Mark's gospel is a book for a different class of students, "for secondary classes." The lessons have already borne the test of actual use by experienced teachers, and all the material appears to be admirably arranged. The appended dictionary, filling twelve pages, is an important

feature. There are a few pictorial illustrations. The house on p. 23 is not a particularly well-chosen specimen of Palestinian domestic architecture, and the rock-cut tomb on p. 63 (cf. p. 218) might be replaced by another subject.

WM. ARNOLD STEVENS.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Education in Religion and Morals. By PROFESSOR GEORGE ALBERT COE. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1904. Pp. 434. $1.35.

This is a great book—the greatest on its subject since Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* in 1847. It takes religious education off its apex of formal dogmatic instruction, where it has been perilously poised in unstable equilibrium, and sets it down on the broad, stable base of sharing the concrete experiences of life in so intimate and transparent a way that the religious principles and motives involved shall shine through, and pass by contagion from the personality of the teacher to the person taught. It gives us a point of view; and in the light of that point of view goes forth to challenge all unreality and insincerity, whether in pulpit or professor's chair, whether in Young People's Society or Young Men's Association; whether in state school or Sunday school; whether in college or university.

Yet if it suggests that the International Lessons are unpedagogical; the Y. P. S. C. E. pledge anti-educational; the Y. M. C. A. condition of membership irreligious; much Sunday-school teaching spiritually debilitating; all goody-goody Sunday-school books "corrupters, because weakeners, of character;" all precocious prayer-meeting publicity pernicious; and many other startling educational heresies, it offers them so mildly, as the unsought but inevitable logical outcome of its fundamental point of view, that even the persons criticised could hardly feel it in their hearts to complain, and would hardly note these strictures, unless they were specifically pointed out.

What, then, is this revolutionary point of view? Simply the self-evident proposition that all religious education is the "genuine mingling of a developed life in the interests and occupations of an undeveloped life." It is "life propagating itself directly and concretely." "It means having experiences and occupations in common, so that the real self of each, with its actual interests, is revealed freely to the other." "We are to make wholesome fellowships—whether in the home, the school, the church, the college, or the neighborhood—so warm, so natural, so unremitting, so unreserved, that every unwholesome fellowship shall seem artificial and

unattractive." "It depends on comradeship and life-sharing between the older and the younger."

Since religious education is this touch of person with person at the sensitive point of mutual appreciation and common interests, it follows that its best field is in the home, where parent passes on to child through unconscious suggestion and imitation whatever of patience, perseverance, courage, kindness, love, and self-sacrifice he manifests in the everyday duties and trials which parent and child together share. To do this work no poking of precepts, no repetition of formulas, no propounding of questions out of a catechism, will suffice. The entire confidence of the child—about his work and study, his play and friendships, his day-dreams and his curiosities, the problems of conduct and the mysteries of sex—must be encouraged. The parent in turn must reveal to the child the deepest springs of his own conduct and self-control—his economies and his charities, his mistakes and shortcomings, his motives and aspirations—as fast as the child can be brought to appreciate them. This is the only perfect and real religious education. All other forms must be measured by that, and counted imperfect and symbolic, artificial and unreal, in the degree and to the extent to which they are removed from this vital contact of person with person on the fundamental issues of life. Wherever there is something to be done, and the motive and spirit in which it is done can be shared and imparted, there is the chance for that passing on of life from person to person which is the essence of religious and moral education. The day school affords a large opportunity. The Sunday school, if the teacher has imagination to evoke the child's real interests, and frankness to avow her own attitude toward those interests of the child, is a splendid opportunity. The societies and associations of young people, especially if they suffer from the leadership of the immature, afford a less promising field; yet through utilizing the gang instinct they can accomplish much good at the period of adolescence. Mere preaching, if it takes a dogmatic form, is the least effective of all educational agencies. "A dogmatic religion is essentially a religion for adults only."

Arbitrariness on the part of parent or teacher, dogmatism on the part of church or school, imposition of pledges or creeds on the part of societies and associations, because they rely on imposition and repression instead of self-expression through idealization, drive the child in, which is anti-educational, instead of drawing him out, which etymologically and vitally is the essence of education.

Religious education is thus self-revelation and self-impartation on the part of the teacher; self-expression and self-realization on the part of the

pupil. If we are bent supremely on making money or taking our ease; if we are cast down when things go wrong, and resentful when people do not treat us right; if we are servile to the rich, and supercilious to the poor; if we are censorious toward those who fall, and distrustful of those who try to rise; if we are indifferent to public welfare, and neglectful of neighborly duty—these facts are so many separate revelations of the fact that we look up to no loving Will, whence we derive our guidance, our inspiration, our strength, and our joy in life. Our children and our pupils will read off that revelation, and learn from us the irreligious lesson that there is no God whom it is worth their while to seek and serve; and no amount of church-going and Sunday-school teaching and prayer-meeting talk can ever save us from having an irreligious influence over them.

On the other hand, if we are patient in trial and persevering in good works; if we reprove in gentleness and punish in sorrow; if we confess our own shortcomings and are ready to forgive those of others; and if we let these and kindred graces shine out through office and shop, school and class, church and home, then no child who knows us as we are in any of these relations can fail to gain through us a glimpse of God, an impulse toward the practice, if not the profession, of the essentially religious life.

This book should be in the hands of every Christian. To the pastor and Sunday-school teacher it puts the test question: "How much life have you, and how near do you come to those to whom you would give it?" To the teacher in the public school it brings a religious mission which no statute or court decision can ever take away. To the worker in young people's organizations it teaches a lesson of respect for the modest shrinking of normal youth from premature public profession and pledged performances. To the college professor it reveals a religious responsibility which is essentially the same whether he teaches Christian evidences or chemistry, theism or economics. On parents, above all, it confers the dignity of being God's special incarnations and chosen interpreters to the boys and girls who cannot help seeing, feeling, and in some measure reproducing the godliness or ungodliness of the life father and mother share with them in the most sacred sanctuary of the family, the supreme schoolroom of the home.

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

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THOMAS, J. Organic Unity of the Pentateuch. New Criticism. London: Nisbet, 1904. Pp. 234. 3*s.* 6*d.*

WHITHAM, A. R. Handbook to the History of the Hebrew Monarchy, Vol. 2. From the Accession of Solomon to the Captivity of Judah. For the use of teachers and students. London: Rivingtons. Pp. 364. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BEVAN, E. Jerusalem under the High Priests. Five Lectures on the Period between Nehemiah and the New Testament. London: E. Arnold. Pp. 182. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BULLINGER. The Book of Job. Part I, The Oldest Lesson in the World. Part II, A Rhythmical Translation, with the Structure; and Brief Explanatory, and Critical Notes. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1904. Pp. 203.

CHEYNE, T. K. Bible Problems and the New Material for their Solution. A plea for thoroughness of investigation addressed to churchmen and scholars. London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 271.

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An address delivered on September 22, 1904, before the Congress of Arts and Sciences in St. Louis, setting forth clearly the fundamental principles of Old Testament study and definitely outlining the scope of Old Testament science.

CURTISS, S. I. The Origin of Sacrifice among the Semites as Deduced from Facts Gathered among Syrians and Arabs. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 461–72.

SKIPWITH, G. H. The Origins of the Religion of Israel. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 57–64.

MOFFATT, JAMES. Literary Illustrations of Ecclesiastes. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 432–39; January, 1905, pp. 77–80.

GODBEY, A. H. The Soul of Habakkuk. *Methodist Review*, November-December, 1904, pp. 866–78.

BELLELI, L. The High-Priest's Procession on the Day of Atonement. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 163–67.

SAYCE, A. H. The Babylonian and the Biblical Accounts of the Creation. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1905, pp. 1–9.

A brief exposition of the content of the Babylonian creation tablets, and a comparison of them with the Biblical narrative, resulting in the conclusion that the latter are directly dependent upon the former, though greatly superior in moral and religious content, and that the knowledge of the Babylonian story came to the Hebrews in the days of Moses.

REDPATH, H. A. Mythological Terms in the LXX. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1905, pp. 34–44.

The chief results of this study are (1) that there was much idolatry and superstition in the outlying parts of Judah, even in late post-exilic days; (2) that the later post-exilic Jews, through their constant intercourse with Greek-speaking peoples, secured a wide knowledge of foreign beliefs and superstitions.

SMITH, G. A. Zion: the city of David. *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 1–15.

GRAY, G. BUCHANAN. The Steppes of Moab. *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 68–76.

NEW TESTAMENT

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An historical study of the conception of the spirit of God from the earliest Hebrew period to the end of New Testament times, as reflected in the canonical Scriptures and the more important contemporary literature. Less technical in method of presentation than the essay of Mr. Schoemaker mentioned in this department, August, 1904.

JOHNSON, E. H. The Holy Spirit Then and Now. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. Pp. 308. $1.

COOK, P. Jesus of Nazareth, the Anointed of God; or, The Inner History of a Consecrated Life. Chicago: Revell, 1904. Pp. 136. $1.

ROSS, D. M. The Teaching of Jesus. Edinburgh: Clark, 1904; imported by Scribner. Pp. 212. $0.60.

KNIGHT, G. H. The Master's Questions to His Disciples. New York: Armstrong, 1904. Pp. xv+367. $1.50.

Devotional meditations.

SMITH, JOHN. The Magnetism of Christ; A Study of Our Lord's Missionary Methods. New York: Armstrong, 1904. Pp. viii+336. $1.75.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s*.

Professor Ramsay's recent *Expositor* articles are here wrought into a volume, which his archæological and historical skill makes of peculiar interest.

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COOKE, R. J. The Virgin Birth of Our Lord. *Methodist Review*, November-December, 1904, pp. 849–57.

CHADWICK, G. A. The Virgin Birth. *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 50–59.

BARTLET, VERNON. Mark the "Curt-Fingered" Evangelist. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1904, pp. 121–24.

That the more biographical, and less didactic, Gospel of Mark won its way anciently to a place side by side with Matthew and Luke was due less to any historical or ethical instinct in the early church than to the tradition connecting that gospel with Peter. The epithet "curt-fingered," applied to Mark by Hippolytus and others after him, reflects the ancient depreciative estimate of his gospel as "curtailed," rather than any physical peculiarity of Mark's own.

BRIGGS, CHARLES A. The Use of the Logia of Matthew in the Gospel of Mark. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 1904, pp. 191–210.

"The Logia of St. Matthew contained only the sayings of Jesus in the form of Hebrew Wisdom, and not his parables, or his discussions in the form of Halacha. . . . . They contained no historical narrative whatsoever. . . . . They were written in Hebrew, the religious language of the Jews of the first century of our era, and not in Aramaic. . . . . The Gospel of Mark, in my opinion, was originally written in the Hebrew language by St. Mark, the companion of St. Peter, for Jewish Christians. It was soon after translated into Greek, and additions were made from other sources. It was subsequently edited by a third hand, which gave it its present form." The logia, which Professor Briggs identifies by their gnomic character and strophic and parallel form, he considers to have been absent from the original Hebrew Mark, but to have been introduced into it here and there "for topical reasons" by the second and third hands which worked upon that gospel. A thorough examination of the synoptic problem will, we believe, to a large extent invalidate this ingenious theory.

MACKINTOSH, ROBERT. The Dawn of the Messianic Consciousness. I. *Expository Times*, January, 1905, pp. 157, 158.

A study of the inward experience of Jesus connected with his baptism and temptation.

BARRY, PHILLIPS. On Luke 15:25, *συμφωνία*, Bagpipe. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 1904, pp. 180–90.

After examining a wide range of passages in which the word *συμφωνία* or its Latin equivalent occurs, Mr. Barry urges for Luke 15:25 the translation "he heard bagpipe and dancing."

MEYER, H. H. John, Son of Zebedee, Author of the Fourth Gospel. *Methodist Review*, November-December, 1904, pp. 921–32.

Even those who agree with Mr. Meyer's conclusions must be impatient with his method of defending them.

MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. The Historical Character of Jesus of Nazareth. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 401–12.

The attacks of Mr. J. M. Robertson upon the historical character of Jesus are subjected by Professor Margoliouth to an historical criticism, with results highly disastrous to Mr. Robertson's positions.

ROBINSON, B. W. Some Elements of Forcefulness in Jesus' Comparisons. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 1904, pp. 106–79.

The range of Jesus' comparisons together with those of Paul and the Deutero-Isaiah, is exhibited in a series of tables. The elements of power suggested by these comparisons are the radicalness of their physical bases, the exclusion of non-contributing details, the deferred applications, the effective reversal of previous figurative usage, antithesis, the change of a negative to a positive, combination, naturalness, and inwardness. The method is original and successful, and the results are of much interest.

MERRINS, E. M. Did Jesus Die of a Broken Heart? *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1905, pp. 38–53.

CARR, ARTHUR. Foreshadowing of the Church. (John 10:1–16.) *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 60–67.

MADAN, J. R. The 'Ασιτία on St. Paul's Voyage. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1904, pp. 116–20.

It is urged that the word usually rendered "abstinence" or "being without food" in Acts 27:21 is really used in the medical sense of "loss of appetite from illness," i. e., in this case seasickness induced by being long tempest-tossed.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Olive-Tree and the Wild-Olive. *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 16–34.

JACKSON, GEORGE. The Ethical Teachings of St. Paul. I: The Sources. *Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 35–49.

FINDLAY, G. G. Studies in the First Epistle of John. V: The Inadmissibility of Sin. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 451–60.

CLADDER, H. I. Hebr. 1:1—5:10. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Heft. 1, 1905, pp. 1–27.

The poetic and rhythmic form, already found by the writer in the epistle of James, is here applied to a part of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the Greek text is exhibited, arranged according to parallelisms and strophes.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Date of the Apocalypse. *Expository Times*, January, 1905, pp. 171–74.

Professor Ramsay finds no reflection of belief in a Nero *redivivus* in the Apocalypse, holding that John was banished under Domitian, in whose reign the Apocalypse was accordingly written. The analysis of the problem into its elements, and detailed examination of these would give clearer and surer results.

BURKITT, F. C. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1904, pp. 91–98.

Mr. Burkitt opposes Professor Marshall's contention that the Palestinian Syriac lectionary was composed in Egypt, and that it exhibits a very peculiar type of biblical text.

MOULTON, J. H. Characteristics of New Testament Greek. X. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 440–50.

The uses of the tenses are discussed, with illustrative parallels from contemporary Greek papyri and elsewhere.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

ROBINS, H. E. The Ethics of the Christian Life. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. Pp. 488. $2 net.

FALCONER, R. A. The Truth of the Apostolic Gospel. New York: International Committee of Y. M. C. A., 1904. Pp. 148.

SHEDD, W. A. Islam and the Oriental Churches: Their Historical Relations. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1904. Pp. 253.

PEASE, G. W. An Outline of a Bible-School Curriculum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. xii+418. $1.50.

The most exhaustive study of this subject that has yet appeared. Predominantly from the psychological point of view, but with careful study also of the biblical side.

RUTH, J. A. What is the Bible? Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1904. Pp. 172.

CONLEY, J. W. The Bible in Modern Light: A Course of Lectures before the Bible Department of the Woman's Club, Omaha. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1904. Pp. 238.

JOHNSON, FRANKLIN. The Christian's Relation to Evolution: A Question of Gain or Loss. Chicago: Revell, 1904. Pp. 171.

COBERN, C. M. The Stars and the Book: Sermons preached in St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, Chicago. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1904. Pp. 136.

MORRISON, G. H. The Footsteps of the Flock: Scripture Studies for Every Sunday of the Year. New York: Armstrong, 1904. Pp. xii+388. $1.75.

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ST. CLAIR, G. The Book of the Dead. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1904, pp. 53–60.

NAVILLE, E. A Mention of a Flood in the Book of the Dead. I. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XXVI, Part 6, pp. 251–57.

GRACEY, J. T. Rabbi and Synagogue: Their Place and Power. *Methodist Review*, November-December, 1904, pp. 942–52.

HART, J. H. A. Philo of Alexandria. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 78–122.

Certain of Philo's tracts on the Mosaic law are presented in summary form, as exhibiting his method of interpretation and his attempt to reconcile Hellenism with Judaism.

BEVAN, A. A. The Beliefs of Early Mohammedans Respecting a Future Existence. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1904, pp. 20–36.

LAMB, F. J. Miracle-Testimony of God. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1905, pp. 126–45.

MACKINTOSH, H. R. Dogmatic Theology: Its Nature and Function. *Expositor*, December, 1904, pp. 413–31.



GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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Editorials

THE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY

Is the spirit of inquiry out of place in religion? Is religious education, from the home and Sunday school to the college and theological school, essentially dogmatic? Are religious and secular education distinguished in that the former is a process of impartation by authority, the latter a process of learning to perceive and to judge and to act for oneself? Whole sections of the Christian church have said, "Yes," and the affirmative answer has been repeated by an eminent educator of our own day. But why this radical differentiation between the two fields of education? Is there not at the bottom of this distinction a confusion between authority as the right to demand obedience in action, and authority as the right to command assent to opinion or acceptance of doctrine? And is there not an assumption that because religion rightly maintains the former, therefore it affirms the latter, and that because science finds no place for the latter, neither is there place for the former in the ordinary business of life?

But from what field of human conduct can the right to command and the duty to obey be rightly excluded? Not from the family; not from the school; not from the army and navy; not from the state. Law as interpretative has been overshadowed in modern thought by law as the formula of sequence; and partly in consequence thereof we have fallen into a period of lawlessness. But no thoughtful man can regard this as other than a swing of the pendulum to the left that is disturbing the balance and imperiling the stability of society. Relations create obligations; in the realm of conduct it is often needful

that the many should follow, not their own judgment and wisdom, but the will of another. Authority in this sense belongs, not to religion, but to conduct. It might even be justly said to have its least place in religion, since religion is so largely a personal matter, and divine authority attests itself as authority ultimately by its appeal to the conscience of the individual.

On the other hand, by what reasoning can it be maintained that the right to think for one's self, open-eyed and open-minded, belongs to every realm save that of religion? Men differ in their ability to think; every man's right to think for himself is limited by his duty to recognize that in some realms of thought others are far more competent to reach sound conclusions than he himself, and that in this realm it is the part of wisdom to trust the judgment of experts more than his own. But is this true in religion only? Is it not equally true in politics, in economics, in biology and medicine and astronomy?

In truth, there is no man that is wholly free to *act*, unconstrained by authority, and over us all are the divine commands to which we must yield, or pay the penalty of disobedience. And equally there is no man who has not both the right and the duty in every realm to use his power of mind to the utmost with all diligence and with all possible clearness, responsible to God alone for his thinking. And the obligation to assist our thinking by the clearer thought of others, or to hold the mind in suspense because other and abler men have reached opinions different from those which commend themselves to us, belongs no more to religion than to politics, or science, or business life. If anywhere the open-minded spirit of inquiry is legitimately at home, it is so in religion.

MOSAISM

Christianity grew out of Judaism. But Judaism was itself a distinct religion, the offspring of prophetism—that is, the movement and body of truth contributed by the Old Testament prophets, beginning with Amos. This movement of the prophets had its origin in what may be called, for lack of a better term, "preprophetism"—a movement extending through three centuries, beginning perhaps with

Samuel and closing, so far as any movement may be said to close, with the advent of Amos, who himself represented a new type of thought and policy. Now, one may ask himself what was back of preprophetism, and the answer is close at hand—*Mosaism.* This word may be used to represent all that Moses stood for—much or little, according to one's conception of the development of Israelitish history.

If it is asked what is the very least for which Moses stood, from a constructive point of view, the answer will include three things: (1) the deliverance under his leadership of the Israelitish tribes from the bondage of Egypt; (2) the drawing together of these civilized clans or tribes into a community controlled by a single purpose and pervaded by common sympathies; (3) the presentation of a new conception of God which took expression in the name Jehovah, or Yahweh, and gradually became the controlling idea in Israelitish thought. In connection with these three achievements, all of Moses' work may be associated; and the view which ascribes to him this work surely in no proper sense minimizes his importance among great heroes and leaders of world-history.

It will be remembered that this is to be taken as the very least which may be attributed to Moses. Each student of Mosaism will, therefore, add those points which, as he studies the subject more and more closely, he will find himself justified in proposing. It is quite important, however, for the sake of general argument, and in order to have a common basis for study and comparison, to recognize that these particular points have been thoroughly established as a result of the historical criticism of the last quarter of a century.

THE CONNECTIONS OF MOSAISM

That Mosaism (that is, the great contribution of Mosaism to history and to thought) is closely connected with that which precedes and follows it, no one can deny. It is a question, however, just what the nature of these connections is, and, further, with what thought or systems of thought a connection existed. It is quite evident that if Mosaism is the foundation on which preprophetism, and later prophetism and Judaism, were built, the germs of these three move-

ments go back to Mosaism. If these later movements exhibit an ethical progress which differentiates the growth of Israelitish history from that of all other history, there must have been something in Mosaism which explains this growth.

On the other hand, Mosaism must have had connections with movements of thought which were earlier than itself. Mosaism was the product, at least in part, of forces set in motion many centuries before the days of Moses himself. To understand Mosaism one must go back into the earliest records of ancient history, in order to find the lines of thought which led up to and culminated in the movement that bears the name of Moses. In other words, Mosaism had its antecedents and also its later growth. Now, while for an understanding of Mosaism it is necessary to study that which, in the providence of God, produced it, and that also which, in the providence of God, it produced, it is equally necessary to differentiate these antecedents and these products from Mosaism itself, in order that we may not ascribe, as tradition unquestionably has done, too much to the leader, who is great enough to be measured by what he himself has done.

BEFORE MOSES

When we think of the fifty centuries at least which preceded Moses, and of the two great world-civilizations concerning which so much in recent times has been disclosed, we realize that, after all, Moses came into the midst of world-action in a comparatively late time. There was the old Babylonian civilization which produced the law code of King Hammurabi a thousand years before the days of Moses, and to which also we must assign Abraham's earliest connections. Palestine was being prepared under the tutelage of this civilization for forty centuries or more before Abraham pitched his tent within its portals. Thousands of years before Abraham the Babylonians handed down from father to son those stories concerning the creation, the origin of sin, the deluge, and the confusion of tongues which in later years, in a form purged and purified, were told again by the Israelitish father to his son, and in still later times found formulation in the literary form in which the Book of Genesis

now presents them. These people likewise sang hymns of penitence for sin which in not a few instances might easily have expressed the prophetic feeling of sin contained in the penitential psalms of David's Psalter. And there was, besides, that old Egyptian civilization which had reached its climax in Abraham's times with its celebrated Book of the Dead, full of ancient wisdom, much of which might easily be interchanged with the Hebrew wisdom found in the Book of Proverbs many centuries later. In these civilizations men had already learned that it was a sin to steal and to kill and to lie and to commit adultery. The elementary duties of "honesty, integrity, purity, and humanity" were everywhere recognized, and Moses at best could only have adopted these into his system. The line between Mosaism and that which preceded it can never sharply be drawn, but every succeeding decade enlarges our knowledge of the great progress which had been made in the ancient world along lines of truth and right-living before the days of Abraham or Moses. Much in recent times has been suggested of the connection of Moses and his work with the Arabian tribes, especially the Midianitish tribe of the Kenites, among whom Moses received so large a portion of his education, and from whom he took his wife. To the head of this tribe, Jethro, Moses' own father-in-law, the Scriptures make large acknowledgment of obligation on the part of Moses, since it was from Jethro that the general plan of organization described in Exodus, chap. 18, was received; and, according to a rapidly growing opinion, it was from this tribe that Moses received the conception of God which is contained in the word "Jehovah."

AFTER MOSES

Within Moses' time Israel was still a nomadic tribe, with all the habits and institutions of the desert life. The next great step was from the nomadic to the agricultural form of life. This brought the tribes which were now to become a nation into touch with still another form of civilization, known as the Canaanitish or Phœnician. The changes which came about as a result of the settlement in Palestine can hardly be described. Entirely new institutions came into existence, and new conceptions of life, many of them debasing, prevailed

on every side. But if it was a part of the divine plan that Israel should thus spend three centuries or more under Canaanitish influence, this must have signified that the Canaanitish civilization had something which Israel needed, if her religion was to meet the demands of a civilized nation. We cannot believe that these three centuries of Israel's history were a mistake. The influence of the Canaanitish association deserves larger consideration than it has yet received. In time Israel, by the strength of the institutions and ideas which Moses had bequeathed, threw off the burden which Baalism would have imposed upon her, and under Elijah and Elisha achieved an independence of religious thought and life which had never yet been enjoyed. This was the final victory of the desert religion in contact with civilization—a victory which carried with it, as do all such victories, a marked modification of the old régime. Then followed in order the contribution of the prophetic movement from Amos down, and that of the great priestly movement, with its climax in the work of Ezra. To this may be added that work of a universal character which had been going on for many centuries, and which at last culminated in the great wisdom element as expressed in the Book of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and other books of Hebrew wisdom. How great and magnificent was this development *after* Moses, for which in part Mosaism furnished the beginnings! But let us not forget that Mosaism stands in a middle position, for in all probability time will show that as much in the development of true religious life and thought preceded Mosaism in world-history as followed it. Let us then keep in mind, not only the great elements which make up Mosaism itself, but also those remarkable connections of Mosaism with what preceded and with what followed—connections which in themselves made Mosaism what it was and what it was to be.

George Stephen Goodspeed

The editorial staff of the *Biblical World* has suffered a severe loss in the death of Professor George Stephen Goodspeed, whose frequent contributions to the magazine have made his name familiar to our readers. His deep personal interest in the publication was always manifest, and his rare editorial gifts will be greatly missed by his colleagues on the staff.

George Stephen Goodspeed was born January 14, 1860, at Janesville, Wis., where his father, a man of unusual force and attractiveness in the pulpit, and widely known and honored in his denomination, was pastor of the Baptist Church. In 1880 he was graduated from Brown University. After a short stay at the Rochester Theological Seminary, he entered in 1881 the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, the institution known since 1892 as the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. This removal from Rochester to Morgan Park was the determining point of his career. At Morgan Park Mr. Goodspeed became a pupil of the young and enthusiastic Professor of Hebrew, William Rainey Harper, who was just launching his novel enterprise, a correspondence school in Hebrew, and popularizing a study hitherto regarded as the least attractive in the theological curriculum. The common desire to promote among ministers and laymen alike a more intelligent and thorough study of the Bible drew them together at once. The relation between the two men from the beginning was far closer than that of teacher and pupil. The elder soon found in the younger the scholarly student whose assistance he needed, and upon whose friendship he could depend.

Mr. Goodspeed received his B.D. degree from the Seminary in 1883, but this congenial companionship in biblical studies continued until his marriage in 1884 and his removal to California, to accept the call of the Baptist Church of Sonora. A first pastorate of two years in Sonora was followed by a second as short in Springfield, Mass., relinquished in 1888, that he might return to his studies in the

Graduate School of Yale University, where Dr. Harper was now Professor of Semitic Languages. During two years spent at Yale in preparation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, conferred upon him in 1891, Mr. Goodspeed was again associated with Professor Harper as Assistant in the Semitic Department, and more intimately still in the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, as a teacher in its correspondence courses in New Testament Greek. One of the earliest of its series of "Inductive Studies," appearing in 1888–89, that entitled *The Gospel of John: Jesus Manifested as the Son of God*, bears upon its title-page the names of William R. Harper and George S. Goodspeed. In the editorial management of the *Old Testament Student*, later known as the *Old and New Testament Student*, and now as the *Biblical World*, he had an important part.

In the year in which he completed his graduate studies at Yale University, the trustees of the University of Chicago were calling together its first corps of instructors. Mr. Goodspeed accepted an invitation to join this adventurous company, with the opportunity of a year of study first in the University of Freiburg (in Baden). When the new University opened its doors to students in October, 1892, the name of "Associate Professor Goodspeed" appeared in its *Announcements* as offering three courses, one in "Ancient History," a second in "Biblical History," and a third entitled "Studies in Egyptian Historical Documents."

To the University his life henceforth was given. His attainments in scholarship and skill as a teacher won for him promotion. In 1898 he was made Professor of Ancient History and Comparative Religion, and later a member of the University Senate. For six years, 1895–1901, he held the office of University Recorder, and in the discharge of its duties entered most intelligently and efficiently into the administrative work of the entire University. The close of this notable service was signalized by the completion of a task to which months of labor had been given, namely, the codification of the regulations of the University. From the routine of the classroom, the study, and the Recorder's office he found respite in 1897–98 in a second year of residence abroad, spent chiefly at Geneva and Lausanne.

Professor Goodspeed's physical constitution, never robust, was

ill-suited to encounter the rigors of a Chicago winter, and for several years he was out of residence during the months of January, February, and March; but he had seldom appeared to be in better working condition than at the opening of the Winter Quarter of 1905, when he confidently undertook the conduct of a class. This familiar task, carried for six weeks easily and cheerfully, was suddenly interrupted by an attack of pneumonia, and a ten days' struggle ended in his death on Friday, February 17.

These twelve short years of University life resulted in a considerable and important intellectual product. A large amount of work, difficult of course to measure accurately, was done in the editorial management, at different periods, of the *Biblical World* and the *American Journal of Theology*, and in very many thorough and conscientious book reviews in these journals. In 1898 Professor Goodspeed printed a syllabus, *Outlines of Lectures on the History of the Hebrews;* in 1900 he published *Israel's Messianic Hope;* in 1902, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians;* in 1904, *The History of the Ancient World.* Critics who are themselves specialists in these fields praise the scientific accuracy and the breadth of scholarship displayed in these books. Not less admirable are the author's intellectual candor and his easy grasp of his subject. For the "mere rhetorician" Professor Goodspeed had no tolerance; his taste nevertheless was unerring, and his style singularly lucid and attractive.

His work in ancient and biblical history is of a high order and likely to possess lasting value. But more and more eagerly in the last years of his life his thoughts turned to the great subject of comparative religion. To studies in this field, in which he had already made large attainments, he longed to give himself entirely; and it is the unappeasable regret of his associates that his life should have been cut short with these hopes unfulfilled. They do Professor Goodspeed an injustice, however, who think of him as a specialist only. So closely and with so sympathetic an understanding had he followed the course of theological speculation during the years since he turned aside from the distinctive work of the preacher that he might easily and quickly have found himself at home in a chair of theology. No new work of importance in history or philosophy or general literature escaped his notice; admirable book reviews from

his pen appeared frequently in the columns of Chicago newspapers; and he was never too much engrossed with his own specialty to enter into discussion of a companion's particular problem.

In leaving the pastorate, Mr. Goodspeed did not withdraw entirely from the pulpit, though he preached less frequently in later years. It was not that he could not always find an opportunity to preach, or that he was not heard with appreciation; least of all, that he was out of sympathy with the minister's calling; but that an occasional return only, to duties which properly claim all that a man can give, became to his sensitive conscience increasingly difficult. And while he was always very reticent regarding his inner religious experience, to know him well was to be assured that his hold upon the fundamental Christian truths was unshaken by any result of criticism or research.

How heavy a bereavement has the University sustained in the death of this accomplished scholar, this eager and untiring student! No one has been more intimately conversant with its affairs from the beginning than he; no one has served it more ungrudgingly and loyally; in the achievement of no other life, cut off though it was in the day of its promise, has it been more highly honored. With every year his contribution to its varied activities was more important. His name appears today in the Faculty of the Department of History, in the membership of the University Senate, of the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, of the Board of the Senior Colleges.

Mr. Goodspeed's associates are persuaded that, could his life have been spared, his reputation as a scholar, in the province particularly of comparative religion, would have been established beyond question; and it is not easy to be reconciled to his loss. There are not many who are likely to accomplish the tasks he had set for himself. But it must always be very much to his colleagues that they were permitted to know in the freedom of daily intercourse a man so sensitive in honor, so modest, so sincere, so kindly, so true. However time may deal with what he wrought, it cannot alter their estimate of what he was, or efface his memory from their hearts. And though the fame he might have won in a longer career is denied him, eternally his record is on high and his reward is sure.

HOW A RELIGION GREW IN JAPAN

EDMUND BUCKLEY, PH.D.
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Great interest attaches to the period of childhood, whether of persons or of institutions, because then the self-expression is most simple and direct, and therefore the nature is most readily comprehensible to others. Children and fools speak the truth; others have learned, for weal or for woe, to conceal it. In the case of religion this childhood is often inaccessible, either because no record at all remains, or because the record has been expurgated, interpreted, and otherwise improved almost beyond recognition. Of all the religions upon earth, Shintoism, the native faith of the Japanese, has been most fortunate in this respect; for its votaries suddenly learned the art of writing from the neighboring Chinese, and were thus enabled to turn its oral traditions and rituals into permanent record while it was still in the days of its youth, early in the seventh century A. D. Had someone done the same for the native British and German faiths, what a welcome light the record would now throw upon our own past! But, in lack of them, we shall turn with all the more interest to the *Kojiki* or "Ancient Records," and *Yengishiki* or "Ceremonial Law," of the early Japanese at a period before either Confucianism or Buddhism had gained a foothold in their land; for the traditions are, of course, vastly older than the record of them, and go back to at least the first century B. C.

Both *Kojiki* and *Yengishiki* show that the two tap-roots of Shintoism were ancestor-worship and nature-worship, and both of these cults remain alive today, though destined to experience reinterpretation at the hands of science and in the presence of more advanced faiths. The theory supporting ancestorism is that the blessed dead live on in another state, wherein they still need service from the living and can tender ghostly help in return. This phase of the native faith was early appropriated by Buddhism, which used tablets to represent the deceased, and daily offered to them a tiny portion of rice and of

tea, while a light was kept burning before them at night, in the shrine where they stood beside the images of Buddhist deities.

Above this family cult stands that of the clan-ancestor, or perhaps the clan-lord, called the *Ujigami*, which cult is carried on in a district temple. Hither the child is brought when one month old, to be placed under the protection of the god, and regularly thereafter on holy days, which here are also holidays, when tumblers, conjurers, artists in colored sand, and venders of toys and candies, gather in and around the temple grounds. These grounds serve the child also as playground, and in some provinces the god receives his votary's last call as he leaves and his first as he returns to his native place. Thus does this simple faith gather strength by close and constant association with everyday life. Finally, to die is not to perish, but to be gathered to the fathers gone before; unless, indeed, it be the good fortune to die on flood or field shouting "Banzai" for the emperor or "Nippon" for the fatherland, in which case the soul gathers, with those of others fallen in war, to the *Shokonsha* or "Spirit-Invoking Temple." The thousands of heroes lately departed to Manchuria express no hope of returning with glory, but only of winning remembrance at this Japanese Valhalla.

But above these clan-shrines in turn, stand the temples devoted to those great gods that sprang from nature-worship. The greatest of the nature-deities have been claimed as parents—either by natural or by magical generation—of the first mortal ancestors of the ruling families in Japan; so that in these cases ancestor-worship and nature-worship have fused to produce the most powerful effect possible. Thus, the Mikado traces his descent from Amaterasu O Mikami, "Heaven-Shining August Deity," that is, the sun-goddess; for, in the Shintoist conception, that great luminary is feminine, probably because mythically interpreted in contrast with the rainstorm, taken as the unruly brother of Amaterasu and named Susano, the "Impetuous Male." Again, the chief priest of the great shrine at Kidzuki—the second holiest in Japan—traces his ancestry to this very Susano, and until the revolution in 1868 was for that very reason considered an *ikigami*, a living god.

The cycle of Japanese myth begins with Izanagi and Izanami, or Heaven and Earth, as a primitive creative pair, who begat the numer-



PROCESSIONAL CAR TO AMATERASU, "HEAVEN-SHINER"

The red sun floats upon green clouds over the effigy (not an idol). Below are the cocks sacred to Amaterasu. The first stage is occupied by musicians.

ous Japanese islands—grown enormously since birth—and various deities. The story of even this early myth contains reference to the yet older phallicism, the worship of the universal forces of nature under the symbolism of the generative organs. This form of nature-worship

has sometimes led to licentious rites, but was commonly used simply to promote growth in flocks and in fields. When Izanagi had incurred pollution from the corpse of Izanagi, he washed himself from it and thereby produced from his left eye—left is the more important in Japan—Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess; from his right eye, Tsuki Yomi, the moon-god; and from his nostrils Susano, the rainstorm-god. This transparent and picturesque myth then continues that Amaterasu, affronted by her brother's misconduct, retired into a cave (eclipse), until enticed out again by a mirror which reflected her beauty. The cock that crows in the morn is sacred to her, the mirror is her symbol and she receives daily homage from clapping hands as she begins day for the world by rising upon Dainippon, "Great Sunrise Land," from no one knows where. The preaching of Shinto priests makes Amaterasu O Mikami the great exemplar of cleanness and propriety to all mortals. She ever remains the maiden fair, for her child, Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, who became ancestor of the mikado, was produced by magic from her necklace.

The myth of Susano is likewise interesting. For his misconduct to Amaterasu he was expelled from heaven (rain falls) and, upon reaching earth, rescued a maid from the red dragon that would devour her, by giving him wine (water extinguishes fire). The sword taken from this dragon's tail (steel is forged in the fire) became the "Herb-queller" famous in subsequent story.

When Amaterasu saw her land in need, she sent down from heaven her grandchild, Ninigi, to rule it. He descended with a large retinue in great pomp upon the island of Kyushu at a place "opposite to the land of Korea." This and other curious clues indicate that this irruption of the conquering clan was made from Korea; and, once upon Japanese soil, it worked northward until it had subdued all the indigenous tribes, and thus founded the Japanese nation. Thus do the myths connect with traditions, which in turn yield to annals, and these at last to history. Besides many other great gods, there were inferior ones too numerous to cite, eighty myriads in all, and new ones are added by imperial edict as the centuries roll by.

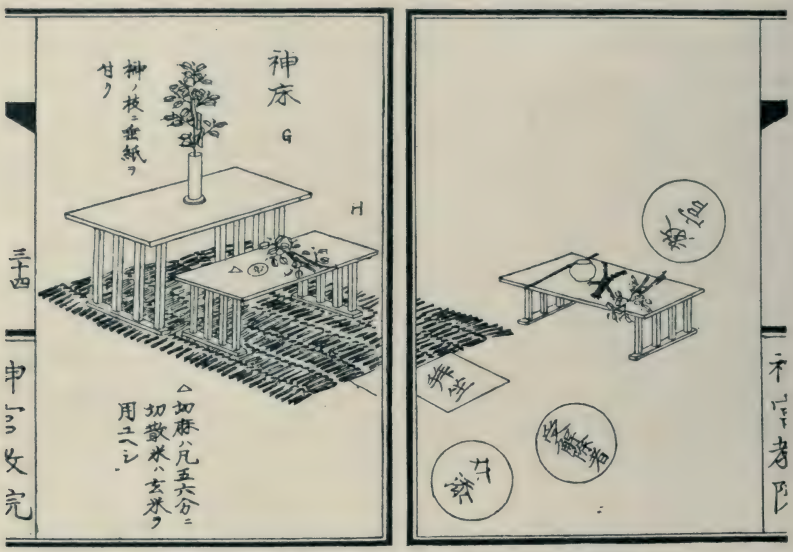
The interest of the *Yengishiki* lies in the perfectly transparent nature of its rituals. As will be observed in the following example, a ritual simply states the grounds upon which the offerings—always



SHINTO PRIEST CARRYING A GOHEI, THE SACRED SYMBOL OF SHINTOISM

the chief thing in primitive worship—are made; namely, in order to secure some natural benefit, or, as in other rituals, because of some benefit already received, or the like. The ritual is always an intelligible proposition, with nothing occult or mystical about it, any more than there is about human affairs.

I declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods of the Harvest: If the Sovran Gods will bestow in many-bundled ears and in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, ... then I will fulfil their praises by setting



IMPLEMENTS USED IN THE PURIFICATION RITE

Priest's place
Place for worship
Votary's place
Attendant's place

up the first-fruits in a thousand ears and in many hundred ears. Raising high the wine-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the wine-jars, I will present them in juice and in ear.

The famous *Obarai*, or "Great Purification," affords an exception to this quest for merely natural good. It enumerates various moral and ceremonial offenses, and states that when the priest shall request all the gods to hear, shall cut some branches and rushes into shreds for subsequent dispersion, and shall make certain offerings, to be thrown away later, the gods in heaven and earth will listen, while the gods of the rapids, sea, etc., will carry the offenses away. This puri-

fication rite was performed before each and all of the great seasonal rites at the national temple to Amaterasu in Ise province. In a *Kaijo*, or purification rite for special occasions, the applicant was measured with a bamboo stick, brushed with a spray of evergreen *sakaki*, and then himself breathed upon a straw manikin. These three articles were then tied up in a jar, which was thrown by the



SACRED DANCERS IN THE KAGURA OR PEACE OFFERING

votary into the nearest stream, in the belief that in this manner any offenses he might have committed were carried away, together with all the evil consequences they would involve.

Another type of ritual performed at the temples at any time, at the request and expense of an applicant, is the *Kagura*. The service consists of placing food and drink, to an accompaniment of music and dancing, upon the altar of the deity, of reciting an offertory to the deity, and finally of transferring the food and drink to the votary, who carries them home, there to consume them at convenience. This rite is manifestly a peace-offering, just as the purification rite

is a sin-offering, and the harvest rite a thank-offering, to the deity concerned; and no witness of them can for a moment doubt that they give satisfaction to the faithful observer.

Nothing can be more impressively solemn than the great Shintoist temples; for they are modeled upon the antique wooden house, they receive a perfection of finish which only the Japanese craftsman can give, and they are usually located in some noble grove of trees. Hither pilgrims wend their way from homes scores or hundreds of miles distant, hoping to secure success in their calling by a visit at least once in the lifetime to one of the great national shrines, especially at Ise or Kidzuki. On their return these pilgrims carry with them an amulet of paper or wood bearing the name of the deity, thence-forward to be kept in sight upon the *kamidana*, or "god-shelf," which is attached to the wall of some room at about six feet from the floor. Here it rests with other sacred objects, varying according to local custom, and here all receive three times a month offerings of rice and wine, while every night a tiny lamp burns before them.

This primitive religion never used idols; for its nature-gods were, and sometimes still are, worshiped in the open, while its ancestral gods are represented by some personal belonging—a sword, mirror, or the like—to which a pillow is often added as evidence that the deity abides in the shrine.

Shintoism never devised any moral code, since its complete fusion with the state required that it point to the laws of the mikado as the first duty of man, after observing which he might follow the dictates of his own heart, which, being good, would always lead him aright. But the conception is potent also for any special occasions that arise, as when suicide over a great waterfall near Nikko is forbidden by an inscription which reminds would-be suicides that their lives belong, not to themselves, but to the mikado, and that they should not be wasted to gratify a whim or to relieve anxiety or disappointment, but should be devoted to the service of their country. Another such opportunity for exercising the combined influence of religion and government upon morality is afforded at special occasions in the public schools when the imperial edict is read, and that with more reverence than is now accorded the Bible in America, which, moreover, is not read in our schools—nor anything else in its place. The edict recites that



RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN KYOTO

The procession is Shintoish, as the gohéi show. The car is usually occupied by musicians and geisha.

the imperial ancestors founded their authority on the principles of humanity and justice, that the imperial subjects have ever deserved well; and then continues:

You, our subjects, be therefore filial to your parents; be affectionate to your brothers; be harmonious as husbands and wives; and be faithful to your friends;

conduct yourselves with propriety and carefulness; extend generosity and benevolence toward your neighbors; . . . . be always found in the good observance of the laws and constitution of the land; display your personal courage and public spirit for the sake of the country whenever required; and thus support the imperial prerogative, which is coexistent with the heaven and the earth.

Such conduct on your part will not only strengthen the character of our good and loyal subjects, but conduce also to the maintenance of the fame of your worthy forefathers. . . . .

We hope, therefore, that we and our subjects will regard the sacred precepts with one and the same heart in order to attain the same ends.

Divination of the future is practiced in various ways. A primitive method was to roast a deer's shoulderblade and to interpret the cracks on the same principle that a palmist does the lines of the hand. Nowadays wooden sticks numbered to correspond with a schedule are drawn at chance from a box. Divination through a medium in hypnotic trance is used by certain clubs, the trance being taken for possession by some deity.

The most interesting of the various sects into which Shintoism is divided is the Kurozumi, which shows some resemblance to our own mental healing. Its founder, *Kurozumi*, was born in 1780 and was from early life remarkable for obedience and piety. The death of his parents caused him such grief that he fell ill, developed consumption, and seemed upon the point of death, when a new thought entered his mind. "Grieving for my parents has filled me with the *inki* ["gloomy spirit"] and made me sick; if now I can imbibe the *yoki* ["cheerful spirit"], my disease will disappear." From that hour he received everything as a blessing from heaven, began to worship the sun, and soon became quite well. Shortly afterward while worshiping the sun at New Year's time, his heart suddenly became pure, and he "laid hold on that life which vivifies the universe." He then took to breathing on the sick and found that he could cure them. The sect of his followers is now large and attributes its success to the healing of diseases. Remarkable cures have certainly been made, and these are widely advertised often with exaggeration, while the failures attract little attention.

THE ESSENTIAL MEANING OF ἐκκλησία

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The world today hears a great deal of what the church has to say about Jesus. Equally important, however—if not more important, in view of present conditions—is it for the world to hear what Jesus has to say about the church.

Only on two distinct occasions did our Lord make explicit mention of his church. The references are Matt. 16:18 and 18:17. Some scholars, notably Wendt, dispute the authenticity of these sayings of Jesus, inasmuch as there are only two references to the church in our Lord's entire teachings, as we have them recorded in the gospels, and both of these are found only in Matthew. While this paucity of reference is remarkable, yet the utterances in question are so eminently characteristic of the Christ, and so natural, logical, and essential in view of the circumstances which called them into being, that we are compelled to disagree with that criticism which would invalidate them, and to acknowledge them genuine and worthy of most studious interpretation.

Before proceeding to their detailed interpretation, it may be pertinent to ask: What idea does the word "church" convey to us? A little reflection will reveal that the word is used commonly in one of three senses: the universal, the denominational, or the local. We speak, for instance, of the "universal church," meaning the Christian church throughout the world, independent of any particular nationality, age, or clime. Again, we speak of the Episcopal, the Methodist, or the Presbyterian church, narrowing the term to apply to some specific body of Christians or denomination. Yet again, we speak of the church in some locality or town, thus more completely limiting the application of the word. Underneath this diversified usage, however, there is, in the popular mind, a substantial unity of conception or idea. It is the idea of *organization*. Using the word "church," we understand it as signifying

an organized, duly constituted body, with its own officers, institutions, laws, and clearly defined beliefs. The character or kind of organization doubtless depends upon the point of view of the person using the term; upon the ecclesiastical spectacles worn by the speaker, and through which he views the distant past. The Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Congregationalist alike are apt to project into the earliest use of the word "church" the character or type of ecclesiastical organization with which they are most familiar, and of which they are devotees today. Hence even the authority of Jesus is sometimes claimed for each of these varying forms of organization. This method of procedure is, of course, unworthy of rational support. It is also a more or less flagrant reversal of history. The law of organization is much the same as the law of life. Institutions grow; they are evolved and developed. They are not born full-grown, mature in form and character. To attribute either the broad outlines or the detailed minutiæ of ecclesiastical organization to Jesus is, in our opinion at least, to belittle the wisdom of the Son of man in view of the universality of his religion, and to demand his descent to a particularity with which he was apparently but slightly concerned, if concerned at all. Jesus stands committed to no ecclesiastical programme. The popular interpretation of the word "church," however, renders it imperative that we study the meaning of the word used and so translated in the pages of the New Testament. The term is the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, whence are derived "ecclesiastic" and "ecclesiastical."

In classical Greek *ἐκκλησία* denoted the body of free citizens in a Greek city to whom was intrusted the transaction of public affairs, and who were summoned to the assembly by a herald. Hence *ἐκκλησία* denoted an assembly of free citizens who were "called out" or elected from a larger population. Even in the New Testament we find a kindred—or, more correctly, a less technical—usage of the word. When the Ephesian populace, incited to riot against the Christians by the denunciations of the silversmith Demetrius, sought to end the influence of the apostle Paul and his companions, Gaius and Aristarchus, the assemblage is described by the word *ἐκκλησία* (Acts 19:32, 39, 41).

We must not dwell, however, upon the classical usage; for the word does not come to us in the New Testament at first hand from that source. Valuable and eminently worthy of Christian usage as *ἐκκλησία* is in its classical sense, and admirably adapted from a consideration of its component parts — *ἐκ*, "from" or "out of," and *καλέω*, to "call"—to designate the Christian assembly as the elect or called of God from the larger population of the world, we must not fail to take into account the use of the word in the Septuagint. When, to satisfy the needs of Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt, the Old Testament was translated from the original Hebrew, which was at best a provincial tongue, into the cosmopolitan language of Greece, some word had to be found to take the place of the Hebrew קָהָל, or "congregation." The word selected was *ἐκκλησία*. In the Hebrew Bible two words are used to signify a community or congregation—עֵדָה and קָהָל. Used substantially in the same sense, the choice of one or the other is determined by no difference in meaning, but rather by the taste of the author. עֵדָה is, however, the older term, and signified any assembly or congregation, while קָהָל came to denote the specific community or assembly of Israel. For example, in Judg. 14:8 עֵדָה is used of a swarm of bees, and in Ps. 68, of a "multitude of bulls;" yet elsewhere in the Psalms the two words are found without difference in meaning, and denote the "congregation of Israel." Studying קָהָל we find that it is used in the Old Testament to designate an assembly summoned for a specific purpose (1 Kings 8:65), or one which met on some festal occasion (Deut. 23:1); but far more frequently does it denote "the community of Israel collectively regarded as a congregation" (Selbie), i. e., the national assembly, "the whole congregation of Israel regarded in its entirety as the people of God" (J. Armitage Robinson), as in Deut. 18:16 and Judg. 21:8. A New Testament echo of this usage is found in the speech of Stephen (Acts 7:38) and in Heb. 2:12.

Now, when the Septuagint version of the Scriptures was in the making, some Greek words were needed as the equivalents of עֵדָה and קָהָל; and we notice that the Greek *συναγωγὴ* represents the Hebrew עֵדָה, while *ἐκκλησία* represents קָהָל. This is the usual, but not the universal rule. Sometimes *συναγωγὴ* is used for

קָהָל, but simply for the sake of uniformity in the written Greek. Schürer tells us that in the later Judaism a difference in meaning arose, *συναγωγὴ* being used "of the actual congregation in any one place," while *ἐκκλησία* designated the ideal, "the assembly of those called by God to salvation;" and Selbie rightly remarks: "It is easy to see how, on this account, *ἐκκλησία* displaced *συναγωγὴ* in Christian circles." Such, briefly, is the history of the words. Excursions of this kind into the fundamental meaning and usage of words may to the superficial appear unnecessary and trying, but in reality they are absolutely essential if we would entertain adequate and justifiable conceptions.

Ἐκκλησία, then, confronts us in the New Testament freighted with the classical usage and the Hebrew usage. Yet both usages manifestly have points of contact; the Greek assembly and the Israelitish congregation have in common certain fundamental features. The congregation of Israel was assuredly the called, or the elect of God: called from the many nations to benefit the many. There is an appropriateness in the word, from whatever point we view it, which makes its adoption to denote the church of Jesus both impressive and deeply suggestive. It must be remembered, however, that Jesus in all probability spoke and taught in Aramaic. While a large number of Greek words had been introduced into the Hebrew and the Aramaic of his day, this by no means proves that the common people of Palestine possessed an adequate knowledge of Greek. The fact seems to be that the lower classes had either no knowledge, or at most a superficial knowledge, of Greek, while the higher or educated classes were probably well acquainted with the language. It is only reasonable, therefore, to assume that the language of Jesus was Aramaic. The question then arises as to what was the word used by Jesus in this connection, and what was its meaning.

It is perhaps impossible to answer this question with precision. Certain facts, however, would seem to shed some light at least upon the subject. We have seen that the Septuagint puts *συναγωγὴ* for עֵדָה, and usually *ἐκκλησία* for קָהָל; also that in the Old Testament there was no substantial distinction in meaning between the two. When the Hebrew Scriptures were used in the services of the synagogue, it was found necessary to follow their reading by an oral

"targum"—a paraphrase, or free translation, into Aramaic, the current language of the people. These "targums" at a later time were reduced to writing. Now, in the targums we find כְּנִשְׁתָּא used for עֵדָה, and generally קְהִלָּה for קָהָל. It is quite probable that Jesus used one of these words. Which word the Master selected it is, of course, impossible now to determine. The choice of one or the other, however, in no wise affects the idea entertained by Jesus, inasmuch as both words designate the same thing—the "congregation of Israel."

The selection, then, of *ἐκκλησία*, when the Aramaic sayings of Jesus were translated into Greek for gentile use, would appear most natural under the existing circumstances. Συναγωγὴ had come to have distinctly Jewish associations, which unfitted it for Christian usage, while *ἐκκλησία*, from its use in the Septuagint—and perhaps from its consonance with Greek ideas—was most happily adapted to express the pre-eminent idea of the Christian church as the called of God.

The word touched, in vital manner, both the gentile and the Jewish world. It would appeal to both with subtle power. And especially was the choice of *ἐκκλησία* natural, in view of the fact that already this term had become widely established as a description of the local organizations of the Christians. Hence *ἐκκλησία* was used to translate the Aramaic word which Jesus himself had employed to denote his church.

The word used, then, suggests to our mind the ancient congregation of Israel, if we think of the Hebrew significance; and an assembly of free men called out of a larger population by a herald, if we contemplate the Greek significance of the term. There is much food for thought in the latter. One is tempted to dwell upon the conception of the church as an assemblage of free men—free from the curse and slavery of sin, free as the birds of the air, free because they serve God "whose service is perfect freedom;" an assemblage summoned from the four corners of the earth by the mighty voice of Jesus which has sounded, and is sounding down the ages; an assemblage summoned to transact the business of the world; for such is the mission of the church—to bring man, the world, human affairs, into harmony with the all-holy and sovereign will of God; and Christ conceived

of the Kingdom of God itself as the "universal rule of Christian principles." Such is the temptation.

But we must resist it, and dwell rather upon the primary and fundamental thought of Jesus as expressed in the word ἐκκλησία. At the outset we are compelled to say that it is not what is first suggested by the English word "church." The word of the evangelist meant not so much "organization," official and stereotyped, as an assemblage, a congregation, a community or brotherhood. This is the fundamental idea. The thought is plastic, pliable, more social than institutional; it is an ideal to be made real, rather than an actual to be made ideal. The word in its pristine application is far more elastic than we are wont to think. Its interpretation should be more abstract than concrete. This splendid word now stands associated most intimately with stereotyped institutionalism and creedal state ments; it is weighted with the conceptions and doctrines of later times. This ought to be avoided. The succinct yet pregnant statement of Dr. Hort is worthy of our attention: "The word 'church' carries with it associations derived from the institutions and doctrines of later times, and this cannot, at present, without a constant mental effort, be made to convey the full and exact force which originally belonged to ἐκκλησία."

Further, it is interesting to notice that in the early English translations of the New Testament ἐκκλησία was translated "congregation" and not "church." For instance, in the famous Bishop's Bible, Matt. 16:18 reads, not "Upon this rock I will build my church," but "Upon this rock I will build my congregation." It is only with the appearance of our Authorized Version in 1611 that the translation "church" wholly supplanted the more correct rendering of ἐκκλησία. Such facts as these bring forcibly before us the thought and idea of Jesus. He was to have a congregation, an assembly, a community or brotherhood of men. This was the great conception. Primarily, the term speaks of social or religious union. At first everything is in a more or less chaotic or disordered state—at least, an unorganized state. The reference of ἐκκλησία is to the time before there have arisen the inevitable results of any permanent association of men—duly constituted laws, officials, creeds, a thoroughly organized system; or, in other words, an institutional régime.

This will and must ensue. But we must be careful not to confound the later growth with the incipient stage; we must not project the late into the early. In our views of the church of Jesus let us abandon the mechanical for the vital.

Now let us turn to the recorded instances of our Lord's use of the equivalent of this word. Toward the close of his life, and therefore late in his public ministry, Jesus and the apostles were at Cæsarea-Philippi. The scene and occasion are memorable. Already the bitter hostility of the Jews against Jesus and their absolute rejection of him are in evidence. Furthermore, they are standing in the very presence of the august symbol of the Roman power in the splendid temple at Cæsarea. Jesus asks of his disciples: "Who do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" The apostles answer: "Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some Elijah, and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." This reply reveals but one opinion—the people do not understand him to be the Messiah. Conscious of this, Jesus addresses to them a like inquiry: "But who say *ye* that I am?" That moment was one of dramatic intensity. For long he has sought to lead them to the truth. Have his efforts failed? Now is the moment to see. Think of the suspense! But the Master has not long to wait. Peter, the impetuous and active leader and spokesman of the apostolic band, immediately replies: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Jesus has not failed. Success is his. Here is one at least who understands. Rome may shine in her splendor, the Jewish nation spurn the Galilean peasant, the people think of him only as a prophet; but Peter, at least, is convinced that he is the Messiah and none else. It is an assured conviction—calm, mature; so mature as to be able to bear the strain of the Messiah's sufferings and death—an idea abhorrent to the Jewish mind, but advocated openly by Jesus for the first time on this occasion. Of their own will have they come to this conclusion; there has been no coercion, no persuasion. Heaven has opened their eyes, and they have seen. And now is the moment to declare the effect or consequence of this voluntary confession. "I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my *ἐκκλησία*, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." There was to be a new Israel, in which Peter should be first; a community or brotherhood

of men, with Peter as the corner-stone, against which the very gates of hell, the emblem of invincibility to the ancient world, should not prevail.

This is the first explicit intimation which we have of the church. The words break suddenly from the Master's lips. They seem to presage a line of thought long entertained, and to voice an intention determined upon in silence, but now, at the opportune moment, publicly proclaimed. The ἐκκλησία was no new idea, no sudden fancy, but rather a mature conviction. The Christian church is no mere mechanical creation; it is a vital thing. The church is necessitated by the very nature of Christianity. Had Jesus entertained no thought of founding a church, and had he taken no steps to found one, the church would have resulted necessarily, Christianity being what it is in both life and truth. Truth tends to association and organization; life, to expression and embodiment. This is natural law. The psychologist's maxim, "All mental states are followed by activity of some sort," finds illustration here. The church would have resulted had Jesus taken no active steps consciously to utilize this law. But Jesus, here as elsewhere, puts himself into line, if we may so speak, with the laws of nature, and consciously co-operates with them, or, better, makes them serve his ends. Any great idea or thought born into the world of men attracts to itself kindred spirits, and usually becomes an organizing force. History is replete with such movements. It was inevitable, therefore, apart from any direct action of the Master, that such great ideas as those of Jesus of Nazareth should become an organizing principle in the life of the world. How naturally, too, would this be brought about when the fundamental thoughts of our Lord were the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man! That this truth was present to the master-intellect of Jesus we fully believe, and to it we attribute that characteristic optimism which impelled him to form only the nucleus of a society in the persons of the Twelve; and, to quote the words of England's foremost New Testament scholar, Dr. Sanday, "after the manner of the divine operations in nature, he was rather content to plant a germ with indefinite capacities of growth, than thought it necessary to fix in advance the details of organization."

Jesus at Cæsarea-Philippi had a vision, superb and glorious, of a great nation or brotherhood of men, a family of God in which the all-important thing should be the sovereignty of the law of love.

Turning now to the second and last mention of the church in the gospels, we see the aspect of brotherhood more clearly revealed. This utterance presupposes the earlier utterance. Christianity is nothing if it is not practical. When a wrong is committed against us by a Christian brother or sister, Jesus tells us that offended dignity must yield to ardent desire for reconciliation. The spiritual condition of the offender must prompt us to the rescue. "Go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." Seek a private interview and understanding. "If he will hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother;" yes, gained him anew for the brotherhood of man. "But if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." Following the Old Testament precedent of witnesses, the principle of arbitration is to be utilized. Arbitrators, disinterested, whose eyes are not blinded by passion or self-interest, who can bring moral influence to bear in effecting a settlement, and who can testify to what has occurred, must be sought. But should the offender remain obdurate, as the last resort, "tell it unto the church," the *ἐκκλησία*, the last court of appeal. It is contended by some—we think unjustifiably—that *ἐκκλησία* here is the Jewish *ἐκκλησία*; but surely, if this be true, the principle involved is no less applicable to the Christian *ἐκκλησία* or community of believers in Jesus. Should the brother not hearken to the advice and exhortation of the church, "let him be for thee"—i. e., in thy estimation—"as a heathen and a publican." In other words, he is self-excommunicated. There is to be, and there can be, no brotherly intercourse with him, for he will not act the part of a brother. The church is also informed that its decisions will be ratified in heaven. And to render the exercise of this tremendous power credible and reasonable, Jesus promises to the supplicating church—pleading for the renewal of brotherhood—divine illumination, so that the decisions of the congregation may accord with the mind of God. The ideas of the *ἐκκλησία* are here most clearly brought out by the Master; they are fellowship with God and the brotherhood of man. The sin against the church is the sin against love—love for the brethren.

If the method of Christ was followed consistently and scrupulously, what a vast step toward the peace of the world would be taken! Exercised in Christian parishes and congregations, and everywhere among Christian people, it might offend some; and others might snap their fingers in the face of all attempts at reconciliation, seeking refuge in some other parish, or denomination, to be welcomed by some ignoble, perhaps rejoicing, clergyman or minister. Thus the effort would often be rendered abortive. But should all religious bodies, parishes, and congregations rise to the height of the Master's teaching, such unseemly conduct would be impossible, and general Christian sentiment would compel to godly union and concord.

That this is the ideal of Jesus, no one can doubt; but, alas! it is far from realization. The church of Jesus Christ is today weakest in that which should be its most salient characteristic — heartfelt, unlimited brotherhood. Of theoretical brotherhood, perhaps of latent brotherhood, we have enough; but of actual, energizing brotherhood we have far too little. Within the church itself class and social distinctions—wealth, culture, education, and intelligence, and many other things—enter to mar the sense of brotherhood. Consequently the masses drift away from the church. The severest indictment ever received by the Christian church is the existence and the immense popularity of the many fraternal organizations. Conviviality and selfishness are neither the source nor the mainstay of these; indeed, their presence is a mighty protest against existing conditions, the eloquent witness to the innate craving of the human heart for brotherhood, the confession that it cannot be found in the church of Jesus Christ, and the abundant indication that men have set out to find it for themselves. Did the church of Jesus even measurably attain its ideal, their *raison d'être* would cease to exist. And, sad to relate, one of the chief forces militating against the sense of brotherhood arises from the church's failure to appreciate the essential meaning of ἐκκλησία. Essential means something that is necessary to the constitution or existence of a thing. The spirit of brotherhood is an essential of the church of Jesus. Orthodoxy of creed and orthodoxy of ministry are well, but orthodoxy of spirit is better. In interpreting ἐκκλησία primarily of ministry or creed we commit an egregious blunder. This splendid word of the gospel

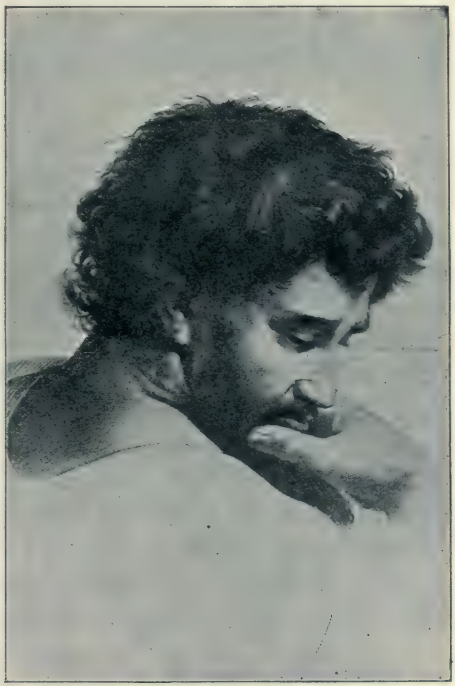
turns the thought away from the institutional and speaks of the social, the moral, the ethical; of a brotherhood, not primarily of an organization. He who best fulfils the terms of human brotherhood belongs to the true church of Christ. "He that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my mother and sister and brother." To do the will is to belong to the family of God: the church is the family of God.

Returning to first principles, we find that ἐκκλησία, as used in the gospels, is comprehensive enough to include the historic churches of Christendom, the Protestant communions, and that large number of men and women who, unaffiliated with either Catholicism or Protestantism, manifest "practical recognition of the Lordship of Jesus" in their lives. The word is large enough to take in those who are frequently outside the church; to render valid the ministries now deemed invalid or irregular; to break down many figments of the ecclesiastical imagination now sundering man; and to include all, who acknowledge the messianic Lordship of Jesus, in one noble and triumphant whole. What could do more to advance this spirit of brotherhood among men than the free and full recognition of this fact? The church, which was to be the mighty embodiment and exponent of the brotherhood of man, has been, and is today, the scene of the keenest violation of that sense, and largely, as we believe, because the fundamental meaning of ἐκκλησία was neither understood nor borne in mind. "If the salt shall have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" The unity of the early church was due to the vivid consciousness of brotherhood; the first step toward a ministry grew out of the sense of outraged brotherhood; and if church unity is ever to come in the future, it will come, and come only, through a deepening conviction of the undeniable brotherhood of all who are seeking to possess the mind, the spirit, and the life of Jesus—brotherhood which outweighs all differences. He labors best for church unity who seeks to deepen the sense of Christian brotherhood; not he who advocates impracticable schemes which will prove but iridescent dreams.

The history of Christianity has been largely the history of misplaced emphasis; but happily the day of ecclesiasticism is passing,

and the day of vital Christianity is dawning. Prior to the Reformation we have the era of triumphant ecclesiasticism. Since the Reformation the age of creedal statement has held well-nigh sovereign sway; but signs are not wanting that our own time is witnessing an ever-increasing return to Christianity in its simplicity, its pristine power and beauty. To understand the large and generous meaning of ἐκκλησία, as it is used in the gospel of Matthew, is a step in that direction. It means the dissipation of prejudice; the acceptance of the true instead of the false; the placing of emphasis upon the unifying bond of brotherhood; the dethronement of invidious distinctions; the absence of all taint of insulting condescension. Above all, it will banish from the world forever that most unjustifiable and obnoxious of world-wide and omni-denominational phenomena, the prolific source of religious animosity, the inveterate opponent of brotherhood—the ecclesiastic. We mean the man who is the incarnation of provincialism; who forgets that he was a man before he was a clergyman; who, as a clergyman, takes but little interest in, and has but little to do with, the larger affairs of life—political, educational, social, temporal—remaining but a cipher in his community, so far as these are concerned; the victim of that most fallacious of heresies, the divorcing of the sacred and the secular. We mean the man who also forgets that he was a minister of Christ, pledged to his undying service and to profound sympathy with every movement for God and righteousness, from the Church of Rome, with her noble and democratic Pius X, all along the line, to the Salvation Army; pledged to these by baptism long before he assumed the ministerial yoke of his respective denomination. We mean the man who loves his sect more than his fellow-man, more than the universal priesthood of all Christians; whose eyes are blind to the distinct excellencies and achievements of other religious bodies; the man of little weight, narrow vision, circumscribed sympathy; the bane of the church, and often met with. Such a man reverses the order of nature and of chronology; he is a violation of their laws. Adequate appreciation of the essential meaning of ἐκκλησία would rid the world of him, and in his stead would give a band of strong, large-visioned, spiritually minded men, who would remember that

they were first men; that nothing of concern to man was foreign to them; that, secondly, they were ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and, last but not least, they are clergymen of their respective denominations, and that this relationship only accentuates, intensifies, and consecrates the former obligations. Such men will the *ἐκκλησία* of Jesus give us; and it means the passing forever of that hapless and hopeless mediocrity which now so often, by virtue of its very mediocrity, basks in the sunshine of ecclesiastical favor and preferment, and the elevation of that substantial worth and avowed ability which often pine and wither, unnoticed and unappreciated.



ST. PAUL

—Raphael

THE VALUE OF THE IDEA OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

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A dominant idea in the higher theology since the time of Kant has undoubtedly been that which we may name *moral teleology*—the idea that the world exists for a moral end, is to be read in the light of a moral purpose, and can be rightly interpreted only when everything in nature and spirit is viewed as subservient to the realization of a kingdom of "the good" in humanity, or what Kant, borrowing from Christianity, calls a "kingdom of God." It is a great fact, not to be overlooked, that this idea of the kingdom of God has reasserted itself in the most diverse theological schools and systems in modern times.

We are not of those who think that the idea of the kingdom of God is the best rubric under which to subserve the total contents of the theological system. The doctrine of the kingdom of God falls *within* the scheme of theology, as defining the last great end of the divine workings, instead of standing above it as the all-embracing category under which we can properly compress that wealth of subjects relating to God, man, the world, sin, Christ, redemption, which, in their various aspects and relations, it is the province of theology to investigate. Of greater value in theological science is the use that can be made of this idea as furnishing the natural bond between Christian theology and Christian ethics. It is *par excellence* the idea which is fitted to bring about the union of these departments in an organic way—a service the more needed since these departments have hitherto stood too far apart, or have been only externally and loosely related. The conception of the kingdom of God does this service by introducing the idea of one *end*—God's own end—which is also an *aim;* by setting before the individual as his life-task the realization of that which is also God's own final end in the creation, government, and redemption of his world. However, it is not so

much this scientific use of the idea of the kingdom of God as it is its practical value for the life and work of the church, in view of present-day needs, on which it is proposed in the present paper to offer a few suggestions.

Naturally we shall be expected to begin with some definition of the idea of the kingdom of God, and this, it is well known, is a task of no small difficulty. The idea was much in the mind of the Master; the name was often on his lips; the conception dominates his teaching. Yet the complaint is often heard that there is something indefinable and elusive about this idea; that it is an idea of such fulness, with so many facets, that we cannot easily bring it under any single formula; that though, in a sense, it is the simplest expression for Christ's gospel, in another sense it is the most elastic and indefinite, and theologians are even yet disputing what is the right meaning to be attached to it. In great measure, no doubt, this is true. It is one of the reasons, we think, which makes the idea unsuitable for systematic use. But for our present purpose the fact that the idea of the kingdom of God *is* an idea—is less a dogma than an inspiration—may be found to be a gain, rather than a drawback. It is as a practical force or power that we desire to regard it, and in such a relation a very simple definition may suffice. Will it be objected to if we describe it simply as denoting *the supremacy of God, or of God's will, in human hearts and in human affairs, and in every department of these affairs?* The kingdom of God begins within—in the introduction of a principle of divine rule into the individual heart; but it is not intended to remain within. It is implanted that it may work itself out—a favorite conception of the saintly Neander—into all the spheres and circles and relations of our earthly existence; into our family life, our social life, our civil life, our commercial life, our national life, into our science and literature and art, as well as into our distinctively ecclesiastical and religious life. But the aim throughout is still the same—to bring all into subjection to the will of God, to make God's will prevail. "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." The church exists for the specific purpose of bringing in this kingdom of God among men; and by its fitness as an instrument to accomplish this end it will, in all its branches, finally be judged.

Here, then, we have an idea large enough, comprehensive enough, grand enough, for every purpose of inspiration, yet surely, in this general form, not in any way obscure; sufficient, at least for every regulative purpose. Let us now see in how direct a way it bears upon our Christian life and work as fellow-laborers with God in the realization of his own great end.

There is a very general feeling that the church today is not making the headway it ought among the masses of our people. There is, as everyone must recognize, a vast and growing population in our great cities which is supremely indifferent to the church, and to what is going on in it; which goes on its way *outside* the church much as if no church existed; whose aims, ideals, and interests are wholly foreign to those of the church, and in many ways antagonistic to it. We need not wholly blame the church for this, but it will be difficult to show that the church does not bear some share of the blame. Where, then, does the root of the church's failure lie? May it not be that one reason, at least, of this apparently growing alienation from the church is simply that the church itself has so lamentably come short of presenting to the world the spectacle of an organization which has for its supreme end the making of God's will to prevail, really prevail, in the hearts and lives of men? Is not one cause of alienation from the church simply the fact that, through our divisions, our sectarianisms, our secularity, the whole idea of the church has been dragged down into the dust, has become a conception so poor, so tame, so parochical, so worldly, that all power of inspiration for nobler minds has well-nigh gone out of it? And what is the remedy? May not one part, at least, be found in moving back on this idea, Christ's own idea, of the kingdom of God as a watchword for our Christian life and work? *That* idea, at least, has not yet become saturated with denominational associations. When we speak of "church" in these times, it is difficult to rid the mind of what is sectarian. We think inevitably of "Episcopal" church, of "Congregational" church, of "Presbyterian" church, of "Baptist" church, of "Methodist" church. But we have not yet, God be thanked, gone the length of speaking of an Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Methodist, Baptist "Kingdom of God." That term still stands for the greater unity in which we are all embraced, and for the common

end for which we all profess to labor. Here, then, if we mistake not, is the idea from which may come a true vivifying of the church; which will enable it to regain, if the idea is taken up in right earnest, something of its lost hold on the minds and consciences of men. The church will be felt to be something worth living, working, praying, sacrificing for, if men once grasp the idea that it does not exist for itself, but as a means for making God's will supreme in all departments of our human life—for bringing in God's kingdom.

Not merely, however, on the general idea of the church, and its function in humanity, but on every part of our practical Christian activity, will the acceptance of this living ideal of the kingdom of God have an ennobling and fructifying effect.

It will have an *ennobling* effect, first, upon the *idea* of Christian work itself; for the very highest point of view from which we can contemplate any portion of our Christian service is when we conceive of it as one of the ways of advancing the kingdom of God among men—as a form of cooperating with God himself in his own great end of bringing in his kingdom. Sure we are that the idea of working for the kingdom of God will for a myriad of minds have a power of inspiration which the idea of working for a "church" no longer possesses. But, further, it will have, not simply an ennobling, but an immensely *broadening* effect on the idea of Christian work. Work for the Kingdom of God is in its nature a far broader conception than that which we customarily associate with work for the church. It is an idea which, as we have seen, embraces *all* the relations of our lives, and sets before us the aim of making God's will prevail in *all*. It rebukes that narrow kind of goodness—which is rather to be deemed *goodiness*—which is *too* good to interest itself in the public, social, or civic well-being of the country; which eschews the duties of active citizenship, and taboos interest in literature, science, art, scholarship—the newspaper even—as belonging to the sphere of the "world"; which exalts *religion*, but does not see that religion is vital only when it embraces the whole domain of human existence in its loving and sanctifying regard.

And there is yet another service—perhaps the greatest—the *unifying* effect which this idea of the Kingdom of God is fitted to have on all our work in life. For this idea it is, clearly, which presents us

with the one grand, all-comprehensive end in life; an end which co-ordinates, relates, and brings to a single focus all the scattered endeavors and activities which make up our life. There is nothing in a Christian man's life, whether in his sacred or in his secular activity, which need, or ought, to lie outside this grand dominating purpose. It brings life to a unity, binds it in a golden chain to a heavenly end, and draws down heaven into every part of it.

In every aspect, therefore, we see that this great idea of Jesus has in it a power of moral and spiritual leverage for the uplifting of both church and world, of which the church itself seems yet but dimly aware.

THE MESSAGE OF MICAH

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Two men belonging to the goodly fellowship of the prophets helped forward the reformation which distinguished the reign of Hezekiah. As has so often happened, the coadjutors had little in common except their devotion to the same cause. The one, Isaiah, was of gentle birth and endowed with all the best qualities of scholar, poet, and statesman. Micah, on the other hand, was a plebeian, with no pretensions to literary distinction or far-reaching influence. His father's name was unknown to the scribes who added a superscription to his prophecies.[1] He was a provincial, living in the village of Moresheth, a dependency of the Philistine city Gath, and giving no evidence in his writings of those vivid impressions of city life which would be felt by a resident in Jerusalem. But the living in a small country place did not then imply that one was out of touch with the affairs of the great world. An English village a hundred years ago was a long way removed from the capital in thought and sentiment. And in the still earlier days when place-names were being given, the inhabitants of one of our secluded valleys were so cut off from their fellows that they would call a rock Eagle Crag or a small sheet of water Blea Tarn, quite unaware that on the other side of the hill the same titles were being affixed to other cliffs and waters. In the East it has ever been different: news permeates in an astounding fashion, and public business has always been known and canvassed in the informal village parliaments. To call a man a rural prophet is not to say that he was ignorant. And the exceeding minuteness of the Kingdom of Judah made everybody conversant with the things that concerned the nation. The most distant town was not more than

[1] The prophets might be arranged in two classes: those whose father's name is given—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Zephaniah, Zechariah; and those where it is omitted—Amos, Micah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Nahum, Haggai, and the anonymous Malachi. In several instances it is easy to detect the reason for the insertion or omission.

fifty miles from the metropolis. Still we must admit that the range of Micah's ideas was not very wide. Unlike the shepherd-prophet Amos, he utters no oracles against the adjacent tribes. Unlike his own continuator in the sixth and seventh chapters, he has little to say to the general public. His concern is with the conduct of the upper classes. From him they may learn what men of lower rank and greater worth think about them. And there is little variety either in the tone or the substance of his addresses. His theme is the prevalence of a few grave sins and the consequences which must follow:

> Sad privilege is mine, to show
> What hour, which way, the bitter streams will flow.

He is one of those narrow men, possessed of or possessed by a single idea, who, by reason of the pertinacity with which they have hammered at it, have driven it like a wedge into the conscience of their fellows. Elijah the Tishbite, Ignatius Loyola, Wesley, John Howard —there are other interests in human life besides those which these men represented. But in every such case concentration was the secret of power. "Yes," a monk said, "I have but one window; still it looks toward heaven."

We must distinguish between the genuine products of Micah's pen and the accretions which have gathered around them. It is impossible to read the seven chapters of the book without perceiving that the transcribers of the Old Testament, here as elsewhere, have been careful to preserve the anonymous literature which they deemed valuable. For this we are greatly their debtors. But for it we should have missed the noblest summary of God's will in the Hebrew Scriptures (Mic. 6:8), and one of the most moving proclamations of his grace (Mic. 7:18). With the obvious exception[2] of 2:12, 13, the first three chapters belong to Micah. The great bulk of the remaining chapters is of later date. The three from his pen are made up of fragments,[3] notes which indicate the salient points of his discourses. These speeches were delivered on occasions separated

[2] No one would stultify himself by introducing the promise of a triumphant return from captivity into the midst of threatenings of disaster, especially when no express mention of the exile had yet been made.

[3] Note the hiatus between 3:3 and 3:4. From 3:3 the speaker doubtless went on to announce the approaching judgment, in the midst of which we find ourselves in 3:4.

from each other by moderately long intervals of time. Part, at least, of the first chapter comes from immediately before the fall of Samaria, 722 B.C. (1:6, 7). The minatory verse 3:12 was spoken within the reign of Hezekiah (Jer. 26:18*b*), who probably did not ascend the throne till 715 B.C.[4]

It was said just now that the prophet's attention was concentrated on the behavior of the powerful. At the outset, however, he draws no distinction between the classes and the masses. "For the transgresssion of Jacob is all this, and for the sin[5] of the house of Israel. What[6] is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what is the sin of the house of Judah?[7] Is it not Jerusalem?" Samaria and Jerusalem stand for the entire life and character of their respective countries. And they are a mass of corruption. Their very name is equivalent to the word "transgression." They are sin and nothing else. That is the countryman's verdict on the town. He sees its wickedness so plainly that he has no eyes for other features. Perhaps a townsman would have called attention to the zeal and splendor with which worship was offered at the two great centers. At Jerusalem men would speak of the "temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and offerings." In our own day the followers of Dr. Johnson, who preferred Fleet Street to all green fields, are many. And they can give reasons. The eager life which is evolved where multitudes strike fire from each other; the enterprises of pith and moment which can be taken up by a great community; the public spirit of able workers who have ideals of education, sanitation, and beauty, and spend their lives for the realization of these; the magnificent devotion of the men and women who go down into the depths to save the submerged; the possibilities of culture and refinement

[4] Even if the earlier date for his accession, 728 B.C., be adopted, there are a definiteness and finality in 3:12 which characterize a later period than that in which 1:9 originated.

[5] The LXX has the singular, and this is supported by the parallelism.

[6] Literally, *who*. The reference here, as in other passages where our idiom requires *what*, is to the people inhabiting a place and implied in the mention of it.

[7] It would be meaningless to assert that Jerusalem is "the high-places of Judah." The parallelism requires "sin:" the LXX, Syriac, and Targum all read "the sin of the house of Judah." The word "sin" accidentally dropped out of the Hebrew text, and its word for "house," which had thus lost all relevance, was altered into the very similar-looking word for "high-places."

which are to be found only where wealth is accumulated—these refuse to be overlooked. Yet there is the other side. Who can contemplate the slum life of a modern capital without feeling that the ideals of religion cannot possibly be realized there? There, too, temptations are concentrated, unhealthy excitements abound, sins can be committed without restraint, detection, or punishment. Juvenal complained that the Rome of his day had become the receptacle for all the vices of the East,[8] and Samuel Johnson found his own beloved city

> the needy villain's general home,
> The common sewer of Paris and of Rome,
> With eager thirst, by folly or by fate,
> Sucks in the dregs of each corrupting state.

Moral, as well as economic, reasons justify the anxiety with which thoughtful men regard the depletion of the country, the repletion of the towns.

When Micah turns to the class with which he is especially concerned, he finds them wholly occupied in increasing their possessions, and that not by fair means, but by oppressing the weak. They could not sleep for thinking how this might be done. They lay in bed forming their plans and were up with the dawn to carry them into execution (2:1, 2). Micah's great contemporary describes the method: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land" (Isa. 5:8). They succeed in establishing themselves as a small class of rich men, at the cost of creating a very large class of very poor. "They make a solitude and call it peace." Much the same course was pursued by English landowners in the early part of the sixteenth century.

> They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, these noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots . . . . inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses, they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheephouse. . . . .The husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else by coveyne and fraud or by violent oppression they be put besides it; or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all.[9]

[8] *Sat.*, III, 60–65. [9] *Utopia*, Part I.

The modern methods are different, but the spirit and aim are identical. The great combinations by which the markets are ruled are unblushingly self-regarding, altogether careless as to who goes down before them.

It is the disposition, even more than the result, which arouses the prophet's indignation. These magnates of Judah ask only one question: "Have we the power to do this?" If it were inquired, "Have you the right?" they would smile and go on. That is one of the temptations to which men in high position are exposed. They need the reminder that

> it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.

It was but a few days ago that an English judge, summing up a case, remarked that he doubted whether "he lived in a country where despotic rule over tied slaves or serfs was out of fashion." Most of us have reason to examine our conscience as to our behavior toward inferiors.

The prophet assumes that his hearers have considered such questions. His query to the "heads of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel" is: "Is it not for you to know judgment?" (Mic. 3:1.) When Jeremiah was discouraged by the ignorance and callousness of the populace, he made a like appeal: "I will get me unto the great men, and will speak unto them; for they know the way of the Lord, and the judgment of their God" (Jer. 5:5). He was not flattering "the great men," but was proceeding on a reasonable supposition. If *they* do not understand the requirements of righteousness, who will? They have ampler leisure for attaining wisdom, and less need to deviate from it. Wordsworth describes a man thus:

> Happy and quiet in his cheerfulness,
> He had no painful pressure from without,
> That made him turn aside from wretchedness
> With coward fears. He could afford to suffer
> With those whom he saw suffer.

Even so can the heads and rulers *afford* to know the right and act on it. Theirs is the high privilege of understanding the foundations on which the welfare of society rests. They are the natural representa-

tives of broad, unselfish, generous views. Pity the poor souls which are made small, hard, and angular by the cruel struggle for a bare subsistence! Their limitations are not to be imputed to them for unrighteousness. But sympathies, tender and quick, are to be expected from those who have not been cribbed, cabined, and confined.

The sentences which follow sting like whipcord. That is because of the connection—or shall we call it the lack of connection?—between them and this assumption: "You heads and nobles ought to know what is fair." These are the men from whom so much was to be expected. And this is what they are: "hating goodness and loving wickedness; plucking off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and they flay their skin from off them, and break their bones; yea, they drop them in pieces as flesh in the pot and as meat in the midst of the caldron." The reiteration of these distasteful figures brings out the indignity under which the speaker and the people smart—a worse indignity than the Moabites inflicted on the king of Edom when they burned his bones for lime (Amos 2:1). For there are living men who can feel the contumely. And when men are treated as cattle rather than as human beings, the degraded humanity which is thus created has an ugly habit of avenging itself, sometimes by that habitual criminality which is a dangerous war against society, sometimes by fierce revolutions. The Marquis d'Evémonde in Charles Dickens' tale thinks nothing of his coach being driven over a peasant lad; the reply takes the form of midnight assassination, the tumbril, and the guillotine. For the safety of society, to say nothing of higher motives, it is advisable to respect the image of God in man.

The prophet is a seer. Veils drop from before his eyes and realities are visible. The heads of Jacob and the princes of Judah might point to their ivory palaces and houses of squared stones. He exclaims: "They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with injustice." These are the building materials: for mortar, the blood of the men whose lives have been sacrificed to swell the oppressor's gains; for stones and timber, the unscrupulousness and injustice which have grasped at everything. Out of these has the whole fabric of apparent prosperity been reared. There is a pathetic Scotch

song in which the fishwives bid the buyers remember that the "caller herrin" are the "souls of men," the lives of the men who risk all for their children's bread. But that is by their own choice and the ordering of Providence. Far otherwise is it when speculators make fortunes by ruining the unwary. What epithets would be strong enough for the false statements by which the widow and the orphan are gulled? It is a novelist, not a professed moralist, who paints the picture of a schemer rigging the market, and hearing that the success of his move has driven an honest man to commit suicide: "'We have put our hands to the plow, and we must not let homicide stop us.' So saying, he steadied his nerves with a glass of brandy, and prepared for the labors of the day."

In his *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*,[10] Renan represents the attitude of the great prophets toward the leading men of their day as one of opposition to *necessary* abuses. The rulers were bringing the nation into line with the general movement of humanity, and the evils against which Isaiah and Micah protested were *inevitable* accompaniments of the transition from the old order to the new. If this is correct, our sympathies will need to be divided. We shall pity the sufferers without severely blaming the oppressors. We shall remember De Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees," who lived in their hives like men,

> Millions endeavoring to supply
> Each other's lust and vanity,

and his doctrine that the enrichment of the commonwealth is due to the push and activity of persons seeking their private gain. And so it is. The manifold improvements in the material condition of society, the inventions which have brought unnumbered comforts to the poor man's door, the swift means of communication which have added so much to the comfort and pleasure of life, have originated for the most part in the worker's determination to advance his own interests. It is a waste of time to declaim against this motive. We cannot put back the clock. The dreams of reorganizing society on simpler lines have stopped short of realization. Coleridge and Southey never reached Susquehanna, and, if they had, the pantisocratic scheme would have failed. The Franciscan Order abandoned one of the main principles of its founder before he was taken from its

[10] Vol. II, p. 496, and in many other places.

head. Yet there are two channels along which the influence of Micah and his peers may freely run. We may keep an open eye for the plentiful crop of injustices which spring up one after another out of our social and industrial system, can set them in the light of publicity and seek remedies. And we can oppose, in every possible way—chiefly by example—the current belief that the acquisition of wealth is man's *summum bonum*. We can stand aside from the rush and hurry. Much as the world owes to the progress of civilization, mankind would not have been one whit less happy if the rate of advance had been a little slower. Fewer crimes would have been committed; there would have been less feverishness, more serenity of mind, more both of leisure and disposition to occupy ourselves with the things of the spirit. A world poorer in gold and diamonds would have been richer in happiness, righteousness, and good-will. The community cannot be expected to follow the exceptional men in the details of their conduct, but Emerson's saying concerning Thoreau expresses a by no means unworthy ideal: "He chose to be rich by making his wants few, and supplying them himself."

Micah does not lay so much stress on the prevalent sensuality as some of his brethren. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah use far stronger language. But he was not unaware of the evil: "If a man walking in wind and falsehood do lie, saying I will prophesy[11] unto thee of wine and of strong drink; he shall even be the prophet of this people." Any promise of the means of self-indulgence was welcome to their ears. Our conversation naturally turns on the subjects we are interested in. And, therefore, by our words we are justified or condemned. That suggests a serious outlook for a considerable section of modern society, in which no mention is heard of anything save

[11] It is impossible to find a satisfactory rendering of the word used here and in vs. 6, or to determine with confidence the exact shade of meaning with which it was first applied to prophecy. It is used of the clouds dropping rain, the mountains dripping with new wine, the lips of a woman dropping honied words, the speech of the prophets. Kautzsch, p. 653 of the extra volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, thinks it preserves a trace of the frenzy in which the earlier prophets spoke, and "means primarily to let drop, *sc.* slaver, as is usual with epileptics and madmen." But is there anything in the history of the word, so far as that is traceable, to justify the supposition? It seems more probable that it preserves a reminiscence of the detached utterances, the short oracular sentences, the less coherent words of the seers, as contrasted with long and sustained discourse. Our *babble*, *prattle*, *chatter* convey something of the idea.

amusements. The new play; last Sunday's little dinner; the amount won or lost on a bet; the run with the hounds or the game at tennis—there is any quantity of talk on these subjects. Drip, drip, drip, fall the empty, idle words. All other fountains are dry.

The honorable title of prophet was bestowed by their admirers on men who took the lead in such vain speech. As a whole, it would be nearer the mark to call them diviners (Mic. 3:5–7). They were still in the condition from which the better type of prophecy had emerged. In earlier times a man might be a seer, faithful to Yahweh, but receiving a fee from those who came to consult him (1 Sam. 9:8), making use, too, of occult methods, formulas of divination, and the like (Numb. 24:1). But prophecy, in the sense in which we usually take it, had shaken off all connection with divination, and had become a free, independent service of God, unpaid by men. To that are due its splendid outspokenness and fidelity. So long as God's messenger to the people was paid by the people there was a danger that he might sell the truth to serve the hour. The diviners whom Micah knew, to whom the name of prophets was not yet entirely denied, foretold prosperity to those who satisfied their greed, and did their utmost to injure those who refused to gratify them (Mic. 3:5). Micah loathes the idea of a prophet being paid (Mic. 3:11). The greatest of the Greek teachers were in full sympathy with this feeling: Socrates and Plato refused to accept fees. Grote[12] reminds us that the former "considered such a bargain as nothing less than servitude, robbing the teacher of all free choice as to persons or proceeding." One is tempted to indulge the wish that the ministers of our own religion could occupy that untrammeled position. St. Hugh of Lincoln owed his bishopric to Henry II. When the occasion arose, he opposed the king, temperately but unflinchingly: "I know myself to be indebted to your Highness for my late promotion. I considered that your Highness' soul would be in danger if I was found wanting in the

[12] *History of Greece*, Vol. VI, pp. 54 f. In the same connection he points out that in the days of the republic and early empire no Roman would consent to receive payment from the client whose cause he maintained in the law courts. But this did not continue. The satirist of the first century exclaims: "Omnia Romae cum pretio!" This stage had already been reached in Judah. Every man had his price. The judges received bribes, and the decisions of the priests on points of ritual or ceremonial submitted to them were determined by the greater or smaller amount of money brought by the inquirer (Mic. 3:11).

discharge of my duties; and therefore it was that I used the censures of the church when I held them to be necessary, and that I resisted an improper attempt on your part upon a stall in my cathedral." We are not all St. Hughs. But we can all distinguish between injustice and righteousness. And at any cost we are bound sometimes to depart from generalities, and say: "Thou art the man." The essential preliminary condition is that we make ourselves masters of the subject in which we interpose. Nothing but harm is done by ignorant interference. In the labor disputes of the present day both employers and employed have rights; both those who toil with their hands and those who direct the laborer have faults. To both the minister of religion must speak plainly; of neither is he to be the blind partisan. He will need to devote far more time to the study of social science than his predecessors gave. And perhaps this will necessitate a very strong and determined effort to keep in close touch with the Spirit of God.

It is time that we considered the divine attitude toward the rulers of Judah, as Micah understood it. Yahweh descends from his temple in heaven, and in two ways bears testimony against them (Mic. 1:2–7).

He bears testimony against them, first, by the storm and earthquake which proclaim his presence (Mic. 1:3–4). In the ages when every event was ascribed to his direct action it was inevitable that the roar of the storm, the confusion and havoc of the earthquake, should be interpreted as tokens of his displeasure. Two thousand years later than Micah, the great Florentine preacher asserts that "famines and inundations, and pestilences, and many other signs of coming evil, announce the anger of the Almighty." That point of view is no longer tenable. History and science combine to prove that no provision has been made for dovetailing natural phenomena into the details of human conduct. And the reason is not far to seek. Nature would cease to be natural were its processes so adjusted. We gain immeasurably more by the regularity of its course than we should by any deviations, however apparently useful. Nor has our faith in the reality of God's presence and operation at all suffered. "If he thunder by law, the thunder is yet his voice." We see power, wisdom, order everywhere. The faithful response which nature

makes to those who comply with her conditions, good and bad men alike, is a righteous thing. And Jesus has taught us to see the splendid generosity of God in the sunlight and rain which come to men as men, not waiting to distinguish between just and unjust.

Secondly, Yahweh bears testimony against his people by the destruction of Samaria and the disasters which herald the approaching ruin of Judah (Mic. 1:6–16). He reduces the former to a mere rubbish-heap. He devises an evil against Judah, from which the people shall not be able to remove their neck. Doubtless the prophet thought of this as accomplished by the immediate action of God himself. But we are more interested in noticing his sense of the natural connection between wrong-doing and penalty. Concerning Samaria he predicts: "All her graven images shall be beaten to pieces, and all her Asherim[13] shall be burned with fire, and all her idols will I lay desolate: for of the hire of an harlot she gathered them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall they return" (Mic. 1:7). The Samaritans attributed their prosperity to the baals, the nature-gods of Canaan (Hos. 2:5), to whose worship they had abandoned themselves. Such conduct was nothing less than spiritual unchastity, unfaithfulness to him who had betrothed them to himself.[14] Its fruits should perish in like manner as they came. The victorious enemy would carry off and devote to idolatrous purposes what was supposed to have come from idolatry. We have a proverb which embodies the same principle: "Come lightly, go lightly;" or, as they put it in the country where horse-racing is a mania; "What is got over the horse's back goes under his belly."

Again, in the second chapter, which is directed against the nobles of the Southern Kingdom, they are charged with driving women out

[13] The Hebrew Bible reads "hires." It is difficult to believe that this was Micah's word. The Hebrew words for "hires" and "Asherim" are not very unlike in appearance. The "asherah," or wooden pole, set up beside an altar, would be the right material for burning. The phrase is used at Deut. 12:3. Neither the Syriac nor the Targum seems to have read "hires," for the former has "objects of reverence," and the latter "idols."

[14] There is an alternative interpretation. Micah may be referring to temple-prostitutes, whose gains were devoted to the service of the nature-gods in Canaan and elsewhere. This disgusting institution found its way into Israel, and there is a strong protest at Deut. 23:18 against the acceptance of these "hires." But the language of Mic. 1:7 does not seem explicit and pointed enough to justify the interpretation.

of their delightful homes and children into slavery. As a recompense in kind, they, too, shall be expelled: "Arise ye, and depart, for this is not your rest, because of uncleanness that destroyeth, even with a grievous destruction." The uncleanness is moral, not ceremonial. Pollutions on which the priests might lay stress—e. g., involuntary proximity to a dead body (Numb. 6:11)—did not weigh heavily in a prophet's judgment. A morally healthy man may observe such rules, but will ascribe to them little intrinsic value. St. Francis, knowing well the prejudices of his visitors, exclaimed: "You have come here believing that you will find a great saint. What will you think when you learn that I have been eating meat all through Advent?" It is not such things that defile the land, but unchastity, hard-heartedness, injustice, murder. To rid itself of these it would cast forth the evil-doer, as it had once got rid of the sensual Canaanites (Lev. 18:28). This is a practical way of declaring that vice destroys its perpetrator, that the sins of a nation are its ruin. Matthew Arnold was not the man to make a wanton attack on France. He was far too enamored of her genius. But in one of his American lectures, bewailing the French worship of the great goddess Aselgeia, he avers that "for human societies it is ruin. Once admitted and fostered, it eats like a canker, and with difficulty can ever be brought to let go its hold again." Whatever may be the characteristic vice, it is a menace to the well-being of the body politic. Competent observers tell us that in India there is hardly such a thing as a business partnership between natives, because everyone knows that his associate would take the first opportunity of robbing him. It is easy to see what a hindrance this puts in the way of prosperity. Each of us, in his own country, can mark the presence of grave faults which are worse than hindrances, positive causes of weakness and decay. *Uncleanness destroyeth.* "Wickedness burneth as the fire; it devoureth the briars and thorns; yea, it kindleth in the thickets of the forest, and they roll upward in thick clouds of smoke" (Isa. 9:18).

Before Micah can reckon his commission to be fulfilled he must therefore predict the very worst that could happen: "Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high-places of a forest." That is his last word. His contemporary, Isaiah, relieved the somber

picture with here and there a hopeful touch. He was certain that the judgment would fall, but he clung to the belief that an elect and worthy remnant would survive. The difference may have been due partly to the fact that Isaiah was at the very center of the national life and was able to do somewhat toward shaping and carrying out measures of reform. A thinker is apt to become despondent. A busy worker cannot quite believe that all effort is useless. And when the thinker maintains that it is too late to mend, his hearers may prove him mistaken. For the misfortunes justly foretold are not absolutely predestinated. In the background of the gloomiest prophet's consciousness there lay the feeling which Jeremiah puts into explicit language (Jer. 18:7–10), that the execution or remission of the penalty depends on the manner in which the threat is received; the feeling which Savonarola puts in another way when he based his conviction that judgment was not far off on the fact that his predictions sprang from Christian doctrine. Charles Dickens showed deep insight into the human heart and into the gracious will of God when he made one of his most attractive heroes out of the man who had wasted all his powers, whose life seemed to himself "an eddy that turned and turned purposeless, until the stream absorbed it, and carried it on to the sea." The conviction that he could make nothing of it moved him to sacrifice it for others.

King and people, somewhat to the surprise of a later generation (Jer. 26:18), bore with the rough speech of the Morashtite. His sincerity, sympathy, and strength compelled their respect. Sincerity has a penetrating note which is sure to touch the conscience of some in the crowd. Sympathy makes itself felt. And this man's fellow-feeling was so deep that he already suffered in imagination what his countrymen would afterward experience. He treads the weary way of exile, stripped of the robe of ease and dignity, clad only in his under garments, as the prisoners will be when their brutal conquerors drive them into captivity. He utters the piercing wail for the dead which every traveler in the East has heard (Mic. 1:8):

> No joy of mine to invite the thunder down,
> No pride, the uprising whirlwind to survey.

And it is a *strong* man who suffers for them thus. "I truly," he can aver, in contrast to the feeble, discredited, professional diviners

and prophets, "am full of power by the spirit of Yahweh, and of judgment and of might." The vigor of his utterances, the spirit of righteousness in which they are steeped, the courage with which he stood almost alone against officials and aristocracy, justify the assertion. Sorrow has not made of him a weakling.

If he found a hearing, it was not without some interruptions. The little knots of men who gathered around him in the entrance to the village, some so-called prophets among the number, grew weary of his speech. "Chatter ye not—thus they chatter—ye shall not chatter of these things" (Mic. 2:6). He seemed to them to be always finding fault and predicting evil, like his namesake in the days of Ahab (1 Kings 22:8). How dare he suggest that there could be a limit to the divine patience with Israel? Are *these* his doings, these judgments and punishments? (Mic. 2:6, 7). Incredible! Surely he will deliver, not afflict, his people. Nay, these *are* his doings, and there is nothing strange or arbitrary in them. Had the people walked uprightly, his doings would have been correspondingly gracious (Mic. 2:7). He has changed his countenance and his hand because of their conduct and for their good.

What would be the most dreadful thing, do you think? To me it seemed the other day that it would be for God to let any fault or wrong in me pass; for him not to mind, not to care about it. Better hell a thousand times than that. Let him forgive, splendidly, tenderly, but let it be forgiveness, not *never-minding*. Let him make every excuse, every honest excuse for us, for that is but fair; but let not our Father be content that one spot should be passed by, or one shade less than his righteousness satisfy him in us.

So George Macdonald writes today; and Bishop Andrewes in the seventeenth century:

From Thine anger,
But yet more from Thy ceasing to be angry,
Deliver us.

THE SUPREMACY OF JESUS' LIFE AND TEACHING

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In the early morning of Christian history Jesus overshadowed the Bible; since then the Bible has overshadowed Jesus: the Book rather then the Man has given law to the church. But this inversion of the early order cannot last forever, simply because it is false to the claim of Jesus; and the church of the future—a very distant future, perhaps—will put that claim before all others, and will acknowledge no religious standard except that which is contained in the revelation of Jesus.

The pick and shovel have uncovered the buried treasures of ancient civilizations on the Tigris and Euphrates. The deep accumulations of centuries have been removed, and from the ruins of palaces and the imperishable remains of libraries we have become acquainted with the claims and works of many great rulers from Sennacherib to Hammurabi the lawgiver. And shall it not at length be possible to recover and recognize the claims of Jesus, buried so long and deeply under the heavy débris of ecclesiastical tradition? Though a task far more difficult than the excavation of buried cities, shall it not at some time be accomplished?

This question of religious standards—either the Bible as a whole, all parts of which are equally good, or Jesus alone—is vital to Christian thought and life; no question is more immediately practical, or more plainly fundamental. As Christians we must hold that the revelation in Jesus is not only of higher authority than the teaching of any or all other persons found in Scripture, but also that it furnishes our only authoritative external standard. It does not contain all religious truth, but it tests all; it does not contain all religious truth, but it contains the highest truth on the greatest themes. The truth of this proposition in regard to the Christian standard will be admitted, one may hope, if it can be shown that it is a necessary inference from

the plain claim of Jesus. Surely his claim cannot be set aside, nor does any Christain wish that it should be.

Central among the utterances of Jesus which bear directly upon the point before us is the claim to a unique knowledge of God. How he came to this knowledge we need not now inquire, and perhaps we can never fully know. The single matter to be considered is the claim itself and its open significance. The most remarkable expression of this claim was made when the twelve apostles brought to Jesus the glad report of what they had done in his name on their first brief mission in Galilee. He saw in this report a proof that they were begininng to understand his kingdom, and to be impressed by its spirit. He therefore lifted up his heart in thanksgiving to God for these blessings to his disciples, and at the same time gave utterance to his sense of possessing an authority and a knowledge of God unique and absolute, saying: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him."

This consciousness of wondrous possessions, especially now the possession of a unique knowledge of God, was not born of a passing ecstasy; it was not a momentary feeling, but a deep and abiding belief. As such it appears in many other notable sayings of Jesus. Thus, when he declared that his words afforded an indestructible foundation for character, that was but another way of saying that he knew the Father. When he presented his own example of self-sacrificing service as furnishing his disciples the law of life, he did so with the conviction that his example manifested the Father's will. When in the darkness of the last days, in the face of the apparent defeat of his mission, he assured the Twelve that his words should outlast the earth and the heaven, that was the natural utterance of one who was as sure of knowing God as he was of his own existence. In any other case this word would have been one of unparalleled presumption, and hence utterly unintelligible on the lips of Jesus.

The claim of Jesus to a final knowledge of God not only is found in individual sayings whose meaning is plain, but it is inseparable from the claim of messiahship itself, which is distinctly implied in the earliest gospels. Jesus fulfilled the law and the prophets, and he

is the judge of men; but both these functions obviously imply a complete knowledge of the will of God. Without such knowledge Jesus could not have *completed* the old revelation, though he might have added to it; and again without such knowledge embodied in his own character he could not be the standard by which mankind shall be judged.

The claim of Jesus to have a unique knowledge of God is not at all the same as a claim to know whatever God knows. Jesus neither claimed nor showed any special knowledge of the material world, or of history, or of politics. That knowledge of God which permeates all his words and deeds was knowledge of God's character and his purpose for mankind. It is plain that this knowledge which Jesus professed to have was exactly that which we should think necessary to his work as the Messiah and Redeemer of the world. He needed to know the will of God in order to reveal it. He needed to know the spirit of God in order to be like him. He needed to know his own nature in order to bring home to the hearts of men his knowledge of God. But his mission plainly did not require that he should know whether the earth was round or flat, whether David or some other man wrote Psalm 110. It did not require that he should know more than his contemporaries on any one of the hundred subjects of common conversation in his day. The one subject on which he claimed to have superior knowledge was God. And this claim, as we have shown, must be reckoned among the primary certitudes of the gospel. One might, conceivably, doubt whether the claim was well grounded, but not whether it constituted a conspicuous and vital element in the oldest tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus. Now, this claim of Jesus, that he alone knew the Father and revealed him to men, if it is admitted to be true, makes his revelation, beyond any question, the final religious standard for his followers. It supersedes all knowledge of God that men had previously possessed, not indeed depriving it of value, but making it forever obsolete as a standard.

We come now to inquire how the revelation in Jesus stands related to the teaching of his disciples. Did Jesus make known in his life all that he had to reveal concerning the will of God, or did he give authority to others, either directly during his life, or indirectly through his spirit, to complete a revelation which he

had left incomplete? If Jesus completed the revelation which he was qualified to make, then our religious standard is contained in the record of his life and teaching, as far as this standard has a literary embodiment; but if he did not complete it, then one may ask whether he gave authority to the writers of the other portions of the New Testament to supplement his revelation.

Here again we are confronted by a simple question of historical fact, and fortunately it is a question which can be answered in the most positive and satisfactory manner. It is virtually answered by Jesus himself in many a fundamental declaration regarding his mission. It is answered, for example, when he declares that his word is a foundation that no winds or floods can destroy. He could not have spoken thus if his words had contained only a fraction of his knowledge of God. This would have afforded a partial, not a complete foundation of character. Again, when he calls men unto him for rest; when he declares that he will build his kingdom upon loyalty to himself, when he tells his disciples that their eyes and ears are blessed because they see and hear what the prophets had in vain longed to experience—all these utterances plainly imply that he did not regard his revelation of God as fragmentary and imperfect.

The same truth is clearly impressed upon the fourth gospel. Jesus told his disciples that he had made known to them all things which he had heard from the Father. This is unambiguous and positive. On the same evening, in the so-called "high-priestly" prayer, Jesus is represented as saying that he had given to his disciples the glory which God had given to him; that is, the glorious knowledge of God's character. This likewise is explicit; and even if it cannot be quoted as the clear teaching of Jesus, it nevertheless has great value as part of an early and, on the whole, deeply sympathetic interpretation of that teaching.

So much for the words of Jesus on the point under discussion. Even more comprehensive in character is the argument from the fact that Jesus identified his revelation with *himself*. It was personal—a revelation in his own character and life. He quietly assumed, even according to the oldest gospels, that the personal element in his revelation was of paramount value. Thus, men confess or deny *him*; he does not say his word or the cause which he represents.

That which is more precious than the right eye and even than life itself is faith in him, not the acceptance of any teaching separable from him. His personal example furnishes the law and the motive for his disciples. His own filial relation to God determines their relation to him. Thus Jesus regarded his revelation of God as being, first of all, a revelation through his character and life. It is obvious, therefore, that it was completed when that life was completed. From the nature of the case, it could not be left for others to complete. Others might illustrate, unfold, and apply it to the needs of the world, but plainly they could not add to it. As surely as Jesus died and vanished from the earth, so surely did he finish the revelation of God which he was called to make; for that revelation he himself was.

There are two facts which bring out into clearer light the completeness of the argument just stated. The first is that Jesus did not say, or even intimate, to his disciples that they were to be revealers of new truth. On the contrary, he bound them to the service of that revelation which they had in him. They were to speak out to the world what he had told them in private. They were to develop the seed of the kingdom which he had sowed in their hearts. Their divine calling was to manifest his spirit. There is no suggestion in any words of Jesus that they were in any wise to enlarge the message of his gospel; they were simply to live it and preach it. It is true that they were to bring forth out of their treasure things new as well as old, but that treasure out of which they were to draw for the good of mankind was what they had received from him.

One word attributed to Jesus may be thought to modify what has just been said. On the last evening of his life he declared, according to John, that he had yet many things to say to his apostles which they were not then able to bear, and which therefore he must leave for the spirit of truth to teach. Let it be granted that Jesus spoke these words. On what ground can one declare that these things which the apostles were not able to bear at that time were *new* truths, essential additions to that revelation of God which Jesus had given to them? There is no ground for such a declaration. The final thought in this passage, as also in John 14:26, is that the teaching by Christ's spirit will lie within the sphere of Christ's own revelation.

The Master's word was to be brought into fresh remembrance. The teaching by the Spirit is accordingly to be thought of as an unfolding and an application of the truth revealed in the word and the life of Jesus.

The second fact of which it was said above that it would help to set in clearer light the argument that Jesus in his earthly life made a complete, not an incomplete, revelation of God, is the absence of any claim by his disciples that they supplemented the message of Jesus. Instead of setting up such a claim, they clearly regarded the revelation in Jesus as complete and final. They thought of themselves as witnesses. They spoke the things which they had seen and heard. Moreover, they did not profess to be qualified by special inspiration to interpret the fundamental revelation of Jesus. He assured his disciples that they should be guided into the truth; but of inspiration for the composition of writings, or of special inspiration for any one particular kind of Christian activity more than for others, it is plain that he said nothing. Equally plain is it that the authors of the New Testament writings made no claim to special inspiration for that work. They wrote as they spoke, and they spoke simply as honest Christian men.

In conclusion, then, on this point it is to be said that the question of the final Christian standard is clearly settled on the authority of Jesus himself. That standard is not the Bible in its entirety. It does not include the Old Testament, nor does it include those writings of the New Testament whose purpose is to unfold and apply the gospel, or to record its triumphs. The standard is that revelation of God which Jesus gave, and the source whence that standard is derived is the records of the life and work of Jesus. These records are not themselves the standard, but they constitute a class by themselves, far above the other writings of the Bible, inasmuch as they contain the Lord's life and teaching. For the interpretation of these records the Old Testament has great and abiding value, and still greater value have the early Christian writings from Acts to the Apocalypse. No disrespect is shown to these writings when it is said that they are not a part of the final religious standard. They do not claim that quality. They all shine with a borrowed light. The highest element in law and prophets is hope of a divine kingdom,

which hope was more than realized in Jesus; and the glory of the Acts and the epistles is the breath of that new life which Jesus perfectly manifested. The gravest disrespect shown toward the Old Testament and the New, next to man's neglect of their spiritual teaching altogether, has been the foisting upon them of claims which they never make for themselves, and could not make.

The supremacy of Jesus and the gospel, as has already been said, was recognized by the New Testament writers—that is, by Christians of the first and second generations—not perfectly, it is true; for those who had been under the law often gave to the Old Testament a regard that was inconsistent with their loyalty to Jesus; but recognized nevertheless as it has not been in the subsequent history of the church. How and when this early supremacy of the revelation in Jesus was practically lost to the consciousness of the church are questions which need not here be discussed. It is enough for the present purpose to say that the great theological writers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries treated the Bible as a homogeneous inspired book, and regarded it as constituting in its entirety the final religious standard. No pre-eminence was accorded to the gospel. The Man who said that he came to fulfil the law and the prophets, that he was greater than Jonah and Solomon and the Temple, was not regarded as having any higher authority than David or Daniel or the author of Proverbs. Even in reference to himself his words were accounted of no greater value than those of any Old Testament book. Indeed, the illustrious theologians of the early church went to the Jewish scriptures for their doctrine of Christ rather than to the gospel. In this point the church of the Reformation and of modern times has not followed them, but their view of the Bible as a homogeneous inspired book has remained in force to the present day. The real supremacy of the revelation in Jesus is lost in the artificial supremacy of the Bible.

How deep and far-reaching the contrast is between the acceptance of a uniformly inspired Bible and the acceptance of Jesus, as the final Christian standard, it needs but a little thought to perceive. The one standard is a book, the other a person. In appealing to the book the great historical doctrines have not wholly ignored Jesus; they have simply treated him as other biblical characters, his words as any other words of Scripture. Thus the significance of Jesus has been

obscured and dwarfed, while religious thought and theological thought have been largely deprived of the inspiration that he might have given them.

Again, the one standard is a book which blends something of the false and imperfect with the true and perfect; the other standard has in it nothing false or imperfect. The Bible contains all sorts of religious teaching, from that which is comparatively low and associated with low moral ideals, up to that which is the highest conceivable. Therefore the standard of the Bible as a uniformly inspired book is practically lower than the revelation in Jesus. With the one standard it has been possible for centuries to defend slavery; with the other, it is impossible. With one standard, polygamy and concubinage may be practiced; but not with the other. One standard allows religious exclusiveness; the other breaks down all barriers of caste and selfishness. One standard contains various and mutually incongruous conceptions of God, now pagan or semi-pagan, again most spiritual and exalted; the other standard has a single and perfect conception. These illustrations, which might easily be increased, suffice to show that the standard of a uniformly inspired Bible differs from the standard in the revelation of Jesus as the imperfect from the perfect.

Another point of contrast is that one standard is complex and often obscure; the other is simple and clear. The Bible is a vast and heterogeneous literature, whose diversity is intensified by the fact that certain portions of it—as Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Apocalypse—abound in obscure symbolism. When the Bible as a whole is regarded as an inspired standard, it is possible to claim divine sanction for a multitude of differing and often discordant organizations, rites, ceremonies, and beliefs. The revelation of Jesus, on the contrary, established no outward organization, and, with one partial exception, no rites or ceremonies, and it presents only teachings that are mutually harmonious. The simplicity of the standard which we have in the revelation of Jesus is apparent in the fact that it is a standard of principles, not of statutes; of principles few and of universal applicability; of principles, moreover, that are set forth in their ideal perfectness in an actual character and life. It follows that this standard allows the largest room for freedom in Christian development, and

that it furnishes the purest inspiration. It may be noticed, in conclusion, that the standard of the revelation in Jesus is laid upon us by his own inviolable authority, while the standard of an inspired Bible has been laid upon us by the church.

What now, in few words, is the duty of a Christian in regard to this question of standards? Is it not as plain as the claim of the Master? If so, it is to recognize, not in theory alone, but also in practice, that the revelation of God in Jesus, recorded in the gospels, is our only standard. This should be done as an act of personal obedience to Jesus, in humility and love. With this recognition of the unique character of the revelation in Jesus there must go whatever reconstruction of thought is necessary in order to bring it all into harmony with this position. This reconstruction ought, of course, to be carried out with the utmost care, in complete and intelligent fellowship with the thought and spirit of Jesus. The Bible exclusive of the gospel will not suffer by this change of view. It will mean more when we claim less for it. It will minister most to our service of Christ when we recognize that just this is its true and highest end. The acceptance of the claim of Jesus will inevitably tend to simplify our doctrines, to bring Christian disciples nearer to each other, and to give a real and vital exaltation to the Master, which must react in the deepening of spiritual religion and in a new power of Christian testimony.

Current Opinion

Can Society be Saved by Warnings?

Professor Dill in his recently published work, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, after describing the warning which philosophy gave the materialistic Roman civilization, asks this question: "The warning of the pagan preacher was little heeded; the lesson was not learned in time. Is it possible that a loftier spiritual force may find itself equally helpless to arrest a strangely similar decline?" Professor Dill is not the first to raise this question, but it comes with special pertinence after his exhaustive study of the social conditions of the Roman Empire. And the parallelism between the days of the early church and our own is not purely imaginary when it comes to social dangers. There seems to be no marked variation in the evils which highly developed civilizations can produce. But the historian should learn to count assets as well as liabilities. Philosophy and Christianity did not save the Roman Empire, for the simple reason that no civilization can be saved by teaching. Truth must be embodied in conduct; ethical ideals must be so socialized as to express themselves in institutions, laws, and customs. It is here that our civilization is vastly better off than the Roman. It has a socialized Christian ideal as a regulator and source of action. The sooner we cease to think of Christianity as a mere philosophy and recognize it as a way of living, both individually and socially, the sooner we shall see our way clear to still higher ethical achievements. No society will be saved by warnings, but a society can be saved by a social mind and conscience that are truly Christian.

A New Reappearance of Marduk

Professor Cheyne, with all the splendid service he has rendered biblical scholarship, has, in these later days, shown an increasing tendency to confuse ingenious hypotheses with history. Certain of these hypotheses become almost an obsession. It was Jerahmeel in the *Encyclopedia Biblica;* it is Marduk in his recent *Biblical Problems*. The Babylonian god he has now identified with the angel Michael; and the angel Michael, with the son of man who is the Messiah of Dan. 7:13; the Messenger of Mal. 3:1; the Angel of his Face in Isa. 63:9; and the Angel of the Lord

in Gen. 48:16. It is not to be supposed that Professor Cheyne really believes that these persons ever were realities. Rather, like so many students of comparative religion, he uses the verb "to be" of ideas and beliefs. Even with this interpretation, however, it is difficult for most of us to share in Professor Cheyne's assurance concerning the identifications of ideas held by people thousands of years dead. Similarities between religions do not establish genetic relations. They may quite as truly represent parallel lines of development of some common religious experience. No one would deny that the Babylonian thought influenced Judaism, but the limits of this influence must be set by reasonable evidence of historical relationships between Persian and Jewish thought. At the risk of appearing unscientific, we venture to suggest that it may be that the hypothesis of Babylonianized Jewish thought is being carried a bit too far.

Are there Religious Criteria for History?

In the January number of the *Hibbert Journal* W. A. Pickard-Cambridge writes concerning the "Christ of Dogma and Experience." In this article is one sentence which, though incidental, is well worth attention: "Of the extent to which in modern experience the highest spiritual life is inspired by the influence of Jesus it is hard to find a criterion." It is the last word that is important. What is the criterion by which we distinguish the influence of Jesus from the influence of God? Mr. Pickard-Cambridge finds in friendship an analogy by which the paramount personal influence of Jesus may be explained. To our mind, however, this leaves the question unanswered how one may be sure that the friendship is with the historical Jesus rather than with God. In other words, what is the spiritual reality behind the analogy? We can understand how one by a knowledge of the historical Jesus and his teaching might reach that attitude of soul that opens the way to the influences of the divine Spirit. We can understand the New Testament doctrine of the union of the believer with the Holy Spirit. The further doctrine of the New Testament that Jesus as Christ sends the Spirit is intelligible from the point of view of the New Testament writers themselves. But how can a man be sure, for instance, of the resurrection of Jesus because he declares that he has an experience of him? What are the criteria by which one distinguishes even the risen Christ from the universal Spirit? We are sure of Jesus' continued existence; we are conscious of divine influences upon our life; but what, from the point of view of both the New Testament and of the modern man, is the criterion by which we identify the one as the origin of the other? Unless we mistake, it is in

answer to this question that there is the largest demand for serious and scientific work. It is not a matter of opinion or of temperament. Strictly speaking, it is not even a matter of religion. It is a question of scientific method. What are our criteria?

Archæology as the Handmaid of Exegesis

In the January *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund is an article by Philip G. Baldensperger on "The Immovable East." In it the author makes a careful study of the sticks and rods which the people of Palestine today have always in their hands. He makes it very probable that these implements, so familiar to every traveler, are much the same as those which were used in Bible times. Such a conclusion simply enforces the thesis which the late Samuel Ives Curtiss gave his life to establish, namely, that the student of the Bible has at his hand survivals of the actual civilization of the biblical period. In the same proportion as we come to realize that the problem of interpreter is something more than that of the philologian, important as that is, will we study these survivals. That is to say, we will approach the Bible frankly with the historical spirit. How strong is the tendency in recent days to recognize this is evident to all those who have followed recent exegetical literature. Most of it is historical in spirit, if not in form. The effect of such study is essentially constructive, and even conservative. Words and phrases are seen to be of less importance than the actual ideas which they embody, and these ideas are increasingly seen to possess, if one may use the expression, an economic rather than a final significance. It is along the line of cleavage between fact and the interpretation of fact that the most promising work along biblical lines is being done today. And archæology has had no small share in bringing these desirable results to pass.

The Religious Value of Ritualism

Just now the subject of ritualism is receiving considerable attention in some quarters. Unless all signs fail, the function of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the Christian religion is about to be examined and evaluated anew. The place of the senses in a religion which claims the whole man has not been fully recognized in all branches of Protestantism. Sensory experience plays an essential part in the very highest of our spiritual experiences. On this whole subject it were well to reckon with the psychologists. Professor Josiah Royce delivers himself upon the subject as follows:

In the attempt to cultivate and to support religious meditation of the higher type, the ritualist has often appeared more psychological in his devices than the Puritan, who endeavors to support religious life by excluding what he regards as a confusing or as a corrupting appeal to the senses. . . . . Puritanism seems to have tended inevitably to the impoverishment of religious experience. . . . . Whatever be the best form of religious training, *it ought deliberately to make use of a proper appeal to the senses* (italics his).

Hymn-made Theology

"Mediæval hymns written by cloistered saints in phraseology which rang true for those who in the ecstasy of their devotion wrote or sang them, were adopted—because they had been written by saintly men—for the use of people to whom they were altogether unsuitable, and who never ought to have been asked to use them." The man who uttered these words was none other than the archbishop of Canterbury. The sweep of the principle, however, is even wider than that which he himself gave. Current theological opinion is very materially affected and determined by the hymns that we sing. An examination of the hymnbooks used in even the most intelligent churches will disclose the fact that almost without exception these hymns were written either by really great men of the past generations, or by mediocre people of the present time. The fact that a person can write poetry is, however, no justification for perpetuating his theology. It seems a bitter misfortune that the men whose religious views ought to be accepted cannot write hymns, and that the people who can write hymns so frequently have views which ought not to be accepted. There has been advance in the choice of hymns of late years, but there is still room for improvement. If it is not wise to maintain for sentiment's sake the educational methods of the past, even more unwise is it to use hymns full of misleading teaching because they have been used by those whom we love and revere for their saintly lives.

Exploration and Discovery

FRESH PAPYRI FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

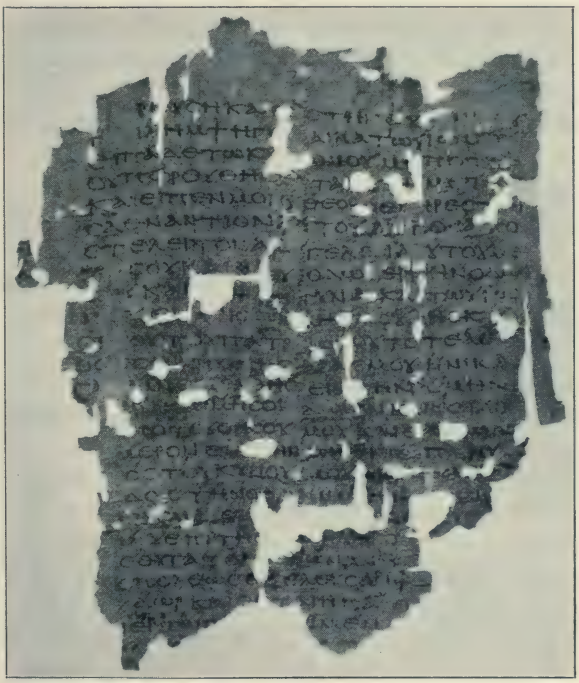
It has long been hoped that with the increasing numbers of Greek papyri being discovered in Egypt, new materials for New Testament textual criticism might be found. There has seemed to be a fair prospect that among the third- and fourth-century pieces found in such numbers, manuscript fragments of the New Testament as old as Vaticanus, or older, would come to light, greatly to the advantage of textual study. An earnest of such discoveries was realized in the Oxyrhynchus fragments of Matt., chap. 1, and John, chaps. 1 and 20, found in 1897. These were assigned by their discoverers to the third century, and reckoned the oldest New Testament manuscripts known. In text, it will be remembered, the fragments resembled Sinaiticus and Vaticanus respectively, and thus tended to corroborate the text and theory of Dr. Hort.

The new Oxyrhynchus volume,[1] however, brings us a much more considerable recovery in the papyrus of the Epistle to the Hebrews, found by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in their more recent excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1903). Unlike the fragments of Matthew and John, which were from leaf-books of the modern form (codices), these fragments of Hebrews are parts of a roll. This roll was originally used for an epitome of Livy, eight columns of which are preserved; and subsequently, probably in the first half of the fourth century, the back of the roll was used to accommodate the Epistle to the Hebrews. The manuscript is thus of the age of Vaticanus, with the text of which, as well as of Claromontanus (D, sixth century), it exhibits most affinity.

The considerable extent of the fragments, which preserve about one-third of the epistle (2:14—5:5; 10:8—11:13; 11:28—12:17), combined with their great antiquity, makes them a most important witness to the text of the epistle, especially as in Vaticanus the latter portions represented in the manuscript are wanting. The manuscript is further interesting as being the first in the form of a roll to preserve any considerable portion of the Greek text. The columns are broad, the lines being στίχοι, or lines

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, 1904. The new Sayings of Jesus, which have the place of honor in this volume, have already been considered in the *Biblical World*, October, 1904, pp. 261–77.

of Epic length, with thirty-six to forty letters each, and there is a curious punctuation, not yet adequately explained. The columns are numbered at the top, the first one preserved being 47. Some other work thus clearly preceded Hebrews in the manuscript; the first forty-four columns would have accommodated the letters to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, which directly precede Hebrews in the most ancient manuscripts, though not in Jerome's Latin Bible; and these may perhaps



GENESIS 24:38–43 (SEPTUAGINT)

have occupied the earlier columns of the Oxyrhynchus roll. It is unfortunate that no facsimile of this papyrus is given by its editors. It is important that it be published in full in facsimile, and we hope that in a later volume this may be done.

The textual materials of the Old Testament as well as of the New have been enriched by the new Oxyrhynchus discoveries. Six fragments of the Greek text of Genesis in the version of the Septuagint have been found in a papyrus of the third century, and probably of the earlier half of it. The fragments, which include parts of chaps. 14, 15, 19, 20, 24, and 27, thus

constitute what is probably the oldest biblical manuscript known. They are of especial value as containing the early part of Genesis, where, through mutilation, the testimony of the greatest uncials is wanting, Alexandrinus having been the best available witness to the text hitherto. While these biblical manuscripts may individually seem so small and fragmentary as to be of little use, it must not be forgotten that by just such modest increments the materials for the Homeric text have of late years been increased, until now a great part of the Homeric poems has been published from ancient papyri, and Homeric papyri are being found in such numbers that soon the whole text of the *Iliad*, at least, will be available in papyrus copies older than 300 A. D.

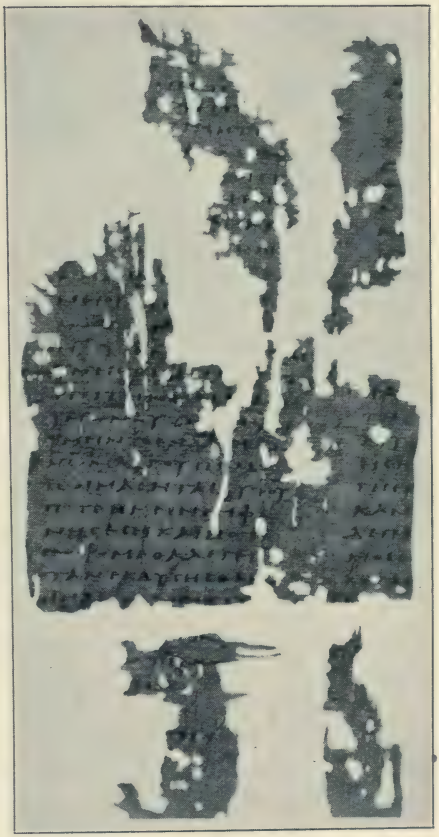
The new Oxyrhynchus discoveries are of more than textual interest. An unidentified fragment of an apocryphal gospel is among them.[1] Like the fragments of Genesis, the manuscript belongs probably to the first half of the third century; how much older the gospel itself was it is difficult to say. It exhibits resemblances to Matt., chap. 6, and Luke, chap. 12, to a fragment of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and to a certain passage in the so-called second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which has usually been deemed a quotation from that gospel. The text as restored by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt runs thus:

[. . ἀ]πὸ πρωὶ ἕ[ως ὀψὲ
[μήτ]ε ἀφ' ἑσπ[έρας
[ἕως π]ρωὶ μήτε [τῇ
[τροφῇ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-
[γητε μήτε] τῇ στ[ο-
[λῇ ὑμῶν] τί ἐνδύ-
[ση]σθε. [πολ]λῷ κρείσ[σ-
[σον]ές [ἐστε] τῶν [κρί-
νων ἄτι[να α]ὐξά-
νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει . [.
ἓν ἔχοντ[ες ἔ]νδ[υ-
μα τί ἐν[. . . .] καὶ
ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ〈εί〉η
ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν
ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει
ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ-
μῶν. λέγουσιν αὐ-
τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφα-
νὴς ἔσει καὶ πότε
σέ ὀψόμεθα; λέγει·
ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ
μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ἔλ[εγε· τὴν κλεῖδα
τῆς [γνώσεως ἐ-
κρύψ[ατε· αὐτοὶ οὐκ
εἰσήλ[θατε, καὶ τοῖς
εἰσερ[χομένοις οὐ-
κ ἀ[νεῴξατε . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Cf. *Biblical World*, October, 1904, p. 271.

1–23. (Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat, or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not ashamed. . . . .

41–6. . . . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not.



APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL FRAGMENT (Reduced)

The document of most historical interest among the Oxyrhynchus discoveries of 1903 is a certificate of pagan sacrifice, made in the time of Decius by persons suspected of being Christians. Two similar documents, one at Berlin and one at Vienna, have already been published, but they come from a different district, the Fayûm. All three are substantially alike in the formulas employed, notably in being addressed to a commission charged with the investigation of Christian suspects. The certificate runs thus:

To the superintendents of offerings and sacrifices at the city, from Aurelius . . . . thion son of Theodorus and Pantonymis, of the said city. It has been ever my custom to make sacrifices and libations to the gods, and now also I have in your presence in accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings, together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore request you to certify my statement.

The first year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 20.

The date is thus about June 21, 250 A.D. Signatures followed, but only slight traces of them remain. By "the city" Oxyrhynchus is of course meant.

Most interesting glimpses of what was going on in Egypt in the days of Decius' persecution may be had from the letter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria at that time, to Fabianus, bishop of Corinth, which is preserved in the pages of Eusebius.[2]

> Many of the more eminent in their fear came forward immediately (to sacrifice); others who were in the public service were drawn on by their official duties; others were urged on by their acquaintances; and as their names were called they approached the impure and impious sacrifices. Some of them were pale and trembled as if they were not about to sacrifice, but to be themselves sacrifices and offerings to the idols; so that they were jeered at by the multitude who stood around; as it was plain to everyone that they were afraid either to die or to sacrifice. But some advanced to the altars more readily, declaring boldly that they had never been Christians. . . . . Some continued faithful until bonds and imprisonment, and some who had even been imprisoned for many days yet abjured the faith before they were brought to trial. Others, having for a time endured great tortures, finally retracted.

The falling off in the receipts of the Egypt Exploration Fund, especially from American sources, threatens to interrupt the excavations of the Græco-Roman Branch at the very time when they are proving most fruitful in valuable theological papyri. It is most important that the deficiency should be made up and the excavations prosecuted with unabated energy.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, 6:41:11, 12 (McGiffert).

Book Reviews.

The Eschatology of Jesus; or, The Kingdom Come and Coming: A Brief Study of our Lord's Apocalyptic Language in the Synoptic Gospels. By Rev. Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1904. Pp. xxvii + 224. $1.75.

Mr. Muirhead here puts forth the four lectures delivered by him as the first appointee under the "Constitution of the A. B. Bruce Lectureship." The constitution of the lectureship gives as the intention "that in these lectures original contributions should be made, or, at least, the result of original work given, with a view to the promotion of New Testament learning."

The author devotes his first lecture to "The Presuppositions of Our Inquiry;" the second, to "The Main Features of Jewish Apocalypse Considered in Their Affinity to the Mind of Jesus;" the third is taken up with a study of "The Doctrine of Jesus concerning the Consummation of the Kingdom, Considered in Relation to His Ethical Doctrine and His Messianic Consciousness;" in the final lecture there is set forth the author's convictions on "The Title 'Son of Man.'"

It will be observed that Mr. Muirhead devotes the first one-fourth of his space to the establishment of critical criteria for use in his constructive work. Some of these are commonplace and vague; others are of the most extreme *a priori* type. That which is most clearly stated and most firmly established is to the effect that the arrangement of the eschatological sayings is often erroneous, due to the misunderstanding, but not intentional misrepresentation, of the evangelists. Little of direct service to the explication of the eschatology of Jesus is to be had from Mr. Muirhead's emphasis of the Book of Daniel in the second chapter. The theme treated in the final lecture must have an attraction for the author altogether apart from its reference to the last things. Only thus can one explain why more than one-fourth of the space, the longest chapter in the book, is given over to matter outside the scope of the subject. Certain small portions of the chapter only have relation to the theme. In reality, such constructive suggestions as Mr. Muirhead offers on his subject are confined, for the most part, to the third section of the work.

Central and most elaborate among the actual problems attacked at

close quarters by the author is that of the *time* of the consummation. Here his presuppositions and method may be tested. Briefly stated, the argument is: Jesus could not have said within one compass of reference both, "This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished," and, "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." The two sayings refer to different events and must be separated. As to the "this generation" utterance, it belongs to a class of which the other members are: (1) "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, until the Son of man be come;" (2) "Verily I say unto you, that there are some of those standing here, who shall not taste death, until they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom;" (3) "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." To what event do all these passages refer? Primarily to the fall of the Jewish state. But that event carried with it implications for the rest of humanity. Jesus attached with emphasis some sort of finality—in relation to the whole world and the coming of the kingdom—to the downfall of the Jewish state. When depicting the fate of the Jewish nation in terms that touched literal as well as spiritual fact, Jesus added impressive indications that such a catastrophe would shake the whole world. Such we have in the paragraph beginning, "The sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light." The words used had no relation to literal fact. They meant simply that there opened out for humanity a new and glorious career, in which it should be seen, even by the men of that generation, to start forward, vested in measureless powers of truth and holiness and love.

Whatever may be one's judgment as to the presuppositions, methods, and interpretative suggestions by which this conclusion is reached by Mr. Muirhead, it is to be pointed out that the whole explanation falls to pieces by virtue of the fact that the author has neglected to leave any material to which to attach the "neither the Son, but the Father" saying. To what event does it refer if all the "this generation" sayings are to be interpreted in the general sense given them by Mr. Muirhead? We have cited simply the central and most amazing of many inconsistencies in the thought of the author.

Like Haupt, to whose *Eschatologische Aussagen* Mr. Muirhead says he owes most, the author finds his main critical hope in the analytic redistribution of the record of Jesus' sayings. But, like Haupt also, he fails after analysis to make a synthesis. The ultimate and only valid test of the theory is its fitness to produce an approximately acceptable synthesized

body of sayings. At the only point where Mr. Muirhead suggests a partial synthesis he builds a structure of paper.

One must have entire sympathy with Mr. Muirhead's desire to introduce readers of English to some of the vital problems in this very difficult subject. But the critical conclusions of Weiss's *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* must be met, if at all, by a like serious dealing with the actual records, without recourse to overrefinement and subtlety of interpretation. It must be said of Mr. Muirhead's effort, as Bousset has said of that of Haupt, that it is, at the best, "wobbling (*schwankend*)." It ought to enlarge the circle of those who will know Weiss's work and from it gain a keen sense of the sharp outlines of the problem presented by the synoptic eschatological sayings of Jesus. That will be a genuine service.

H. B. SHARMAN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things. [The Cunningham Lectures for 1904.] By REV. H. A. A. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1904. Pp. xi+370. $2.25.

Present-day interest in eschatological questions is not at white heat. Attention is given to things present rather than to things to come. Most people are contented with vague, undefined conceptions of the "last things," and prefer not to have definite, positive convictions on such subjects. Such is the spirit of our times. May it not be due largely to misunderstanding or inadequate comprehension of the teaching of the New Testament on these matters? That teaching is, it is true, often regarded as peculiarly imperfect on these points, out of touch with the demands of modern thought. But this may be a mistake. At any rate, there is, perhaps, no field of New Testament thought that needs thorough and competent investigation as much as that of eschatology. The recent studies along these lines by Charles, Bousset, Volz, and others have both made this clear and contributed greatly to our knowledge of the general views current in the first century regarding the last things.

Dr. Kennedy has rendered a great service by his study of *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*. It is a timely work, marked throughout by careful thought, sound scholarship, and a sane method. He maintains throughout a remarkable poise and balance in his attempt to interpret the apostle's thought. He has perceived rightly that Paul's eschatology was determined, in every important feature, by his personal Christian experience, by what he knew and believed about Jesus Christ. From this

experience as a center, Paul's thought reached out in various eschatological lines, but not to construct a complete eschatology. Dr. Kennedy deserves great credit for the admirable way in which he states and maintains these positions. He discusses his subject in six chapters, as follows: (1) "The Place of Eschatology in Paul's Religious Thought;" (2) "The Formative Influences in His Eschatological Conceptions;" (3) "Paul's Conceptions of Life and Death;" (4) "His Conceptions of the Parousia and Judgment;" (5) "His Conception of the Resurrection;" (6) "His Conception of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God." These are general subjects on which Paul, necessarily, had convictions that, all told, made up his eschatology. Dr. Kennedy has sought to trace out most carefully just what Paul taught on these points. He finds that, in some respects, the teaching was incomplete, and is usually able to show why the apostle was not more positive.

No important point has escaped the author's notice. He has read widely and to good advantage. Without being led astray by false or uncertain analogies, he seeks to show the true relation between Paul's thought and current Jewish or Greek speculation on similar topics. His vindication of Paul as representing the best in the Old Testament conception interpreted in the light of Jesus' teaching and genuine Christian experience is, on the whole, very satisfactory.

No one will regret time spent over this book. If a preacher, he will rise from reading it with a new sense of the wholesomeness, reasonableness, and dignity of Paul's eschatology and of its value as a part of the gospel message for today.

EDWARD E. NOURSE.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. By GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A., D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. Pp. lii+489.

No Old Testament writing was in greater need of a good English commentary than the Book of Numbers. Nothing of a scholarly character other than the translation of Keil's German commentary has been accessible to English students for the last half-century or more. Hence a commentary on Numbers written from the modern point of view and fully abreast of the best scholarship of the age was urgently called for. The work of Dr. Gray is fully up to the standard set for it by the other volumes of the "International Series," and holds its own with the best products of German

exegetical skill. It loses nothing by a comparison with the works of Baentsch and Holzinger upon the same book, and in some respects is undoubtedly their superior.

The "Introduction" deals with the topics ordinarily considered under this head; e. g., title, date, sources, text, etc.; the greatest attention being bestowed upon the analysis of the priestly source in Numbers, the historical value of the narratives in Numbers, and the insight afforded by them into the various periods of Israel's religious development. What the Book of Numbers loses in value as a trustworthy record of concrete historical facts pertaining to the early days of Israel's career is shown to be fully compensated for by its increased value as a record of the unfolding of Israel's spiritual life all through the centuries of the nation's existence. In this connection it may be asked: After setting forth the religious message of each of the constituent elements of the book in turn, why not go one step farther and consider the teaching of the finished product, the book as a whole? In our anxiety to trace the sources, do we not forget that during the closing days of the Old Testament dispensation the thoughts of the pious were molded by reading many of the sacred books practically in their present form?

The commentary proper is characterized by a sound exegetical method and a sure grasp of the essential meaning. Abundant use is made of the facts furnished by the study of comparative religion which illumines many of the obscure rites and customs of the Hebrews. Unfortunately, the volume appeared too early to have the advantage of a comparison of the Hebrew laws and usages with those of the recently discovered Code of Hammurabi, to which reference is made in the "Addenda and Corrigenda." The commentary is greatly enriched by a series of somewhat extended discussions of various subjects presented by the text; e. g., the numbers of the Israelites, ordeals, Nazirites, holiness, first-fruits, priestly dues, serpent worship, use of divine names. Selected lists of recent literature upon important subjects are also furnished, and a map of Palestine showing the places mentioned in Numbers. The work has everywhere received an appreciative welcome, and will long hold its place as the standard work on Numbers.

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

SMITH, G. A. Jerusalem under David and Solomon. *Expositor*, February, 1905, pp. 81–102.

A discussion of the probable site of the old Jebusite stronghold, of the additions made by David, and of the general situation and condition of Jerusalem under David and Solomon.

WATSON, JOHN. Isaac, the Type of Quietness. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–32.

A suggestive homiletical and devotional study of the life of Isaac, based on an uncritical view of the narratives.

SKINNER, JOHN. The Cosmopolitan Aspect of the Hebrew Wisdom. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1905, pp. 240–62.

A lecture delivered at the Summer School of Theology, Edinburgh, 1904; and dealing with the problems relating to the source of the universality of the wisdom utterances. Professor Skinner inclines to the supposition of close contact with Egypt during the period when Palestine was under the Ptolemies. Several points of similarity between Egyptian and Jewish teachings are indicated and discussed.

MURISON, R. G. The Serpent in the Old Testament. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1905, pp. 115–30.

A description of the various kinds of serpents mentioned in the Old Testament, with a brief discussion of serpent-worship, the brazen serpent, and the serpent of the Fall.

BREASTED, J. H. The Report of Wenamon. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–109.

The translation of an Egyptian document containing an account by Wenamon, an Egyptian legate, of a journey to northern Syria in search of cedar for the construction of a new sacred barque for the god Amon. It is of especial interest to Old Testament students because it contains an account of the earliest instance of prophetic ecstasy thus far known—and that, too, outside of Israel, among the Phœnicians.

DENIO, F. B. The Authority of the Hebrew Prophets. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1905, pp. 105–25.

The first half of an attempt to answer the question, how the Hebrew prophets came to have such certainty of the truth of their utterances, and of the fact that they were appointed to speak for God.

ZAPLETAL, V. Die vermeintlichen Einflüsse der griechischen Philosophie im Buche Ḳohelet. *Biblische Zeitschrift*, January, 1905, pp. 32–39.

The first part of a study of the influence of Greek philosophy upon Ecclesiastes. This is an examination of the claim of E. Pfleiderer that Ecclesiastes was strongly influenced by the teachings of Heraklites, and a negative conclusion is reached.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

STEVENS, W. A., AND BURTON, E. D. A Harmony of the Gospels, for Historical Study. Third edition, revised. New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. viii+283.

This new edition from new plates represents a thorough revision of the *Harmony*, in the direction of a closer and more complete application of the principles underlying previous editions.

BURTON, E. D. Some Principles of Literary Criticism and their Application to the Synoptic Problem. (*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, First Series, Vol. V, Part 5.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 72. $1, net.

This essay undertakes to formulate principles applicable to the solution of the synoptic problem;

to exhibit the main facts as to the interrelations of the synoptic gospels; and to suggest the interpretation of these facts in the light of these principles. An exhaustive table showing the parallel sections of the synoptic gospels, and side by side with these the parallel material in non-parallel sections, adds much to the value of the essay, which in its formulation of principles and in the conclusions outlined constitutes a positive and important contribution to synoptic study.

BACON, B. W. The Story of St. Paul: A Comparison of Acts and Epistles. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Pp. 392.

PARKER, JOSEPH. The Epistles to the Colossians and Thessalonians. (*The Practical and Devotional Commentary on the New Testament*, edited by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL.) New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1904. Pp. 303. $1.25, net.

These chapters have the originality and power of the great preacher of the City Temple. Their value lies in spiritual insight and vigor, rather than in critical or technical scholarship. A curious liberty is taken with the term "Catholic Epistles" (p. 3): "To my own heart Paul is always at his best. . . . . The Pastoral Epistles are catholic, and the Catholic Epistles are pastoral."

ARTICLES

STALKER, JAMES. Jesus Christ the Giver of the Ethical Life Which He Demands. *Baptist Review and Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 1–18.

ROBERTSON, A. T. The Biblical Picture of Jesus. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–40.

BENNETT, W. H. The Life of Christ according to St. Mark. XXXIII: The Journey to Jerusalem, 10:32–52. *Expositor*, February, 1905, pp. 133–39.

LAKE, KIRSOPP. The New Sayings of Jesus and the Synoptic Problem. *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1905, pp. 332–41.

The new Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus—λόγοι, as the papyrus itself calls them—are interpreted as favoring the view that the gathering of sayings of Jesus was undertaken earlier than the writing of gospels; a view fairly suggested by references in Acts and 1 Clement to "words" of Jesus—"remembering the words (λόγων) of the Lord, that he said", etc.

BACON, B. W. The Johannine Problem. III: Indirect Internal Evidence (concluding article). *Ibid.*, pp. 353–75.

The study of the indirect internal evidence with which Professor Bacon concludes his examination of the Johannine problem fails to sustain the traditional authorship of the gospel and epistles. They are rather to be interpreted as "the effort of Paulinism in the second generation after the great apostle, and in the principal seat of his activity, partly to define itself over against the pseudo-Paulinism of the Docetic Gnostics, partly to find solid anchorage, like that of the mother-church, in the historic life of Jesus, and the 'new commandment which he gave unto us.'"

PROVENCE, S. M. The Difficulty in John 13:1. *Baptist Review and Expositor*, January, 1905, pp. 94–98.

The difficulty disappears if the words "He loved them unto the end" are understood as parenthetical.

JACKSON, GEORGE. The Ethical Teachings of St. Paul. II: Some General Characteristics. *Expositor*, February, 1905, pp. 138–51.

Humility, symmetry, and universality are characteristic of Paul's moral ideal.

RAMSAY; W. M. The Olive-Tree and the Wild-Olive. *Ibid.*, pp. 152–60.

References in the New Testament to the olive and the wild-olive (Rom., chap. 11) lend interest to the following facts about these trees: "(1) The wild-olive, when properly grafted with the nobler shoot, gives rise to the true olive (though, of course, when ungrafted it can, as Theophrastus says, never become a true olive). (2) The cultivation of the olive, which originated in Western Asia several thousand years ago, has produced a well-marked difference in the tree. (3) The olive, if neglected, would gradually revert to the primitive type in the course of centuries, though not completely so, for it would still retain distinguishable traces of the cultivated tree. . . . (4) A shoot of the finest cultivated olive, if planted, will not grow into a good and productive olive, unless it is grafted just like a wild olive. The essential and indispensable fact is everywhere and in all cases the grafting of the young tree. (5) The ordinary practice in the Levant regions is to plant shoots of the cultivated olive, and not to graft the wild-olive."

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago. First Series, Vol. V. Investigations Representing the Departments of Semitic Languages and Literatures and Biblical and Patristic Greek. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 264. $4.50.

The papers included in this volume deal with (1) "Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum;" (2) "The Battle of Kadesh;" (3) "The Structure of the Text of Amos;" (4) "Some Literary Remains of Rim-Sin (Arioch) King of Larsa, about 2285 B. C.;" (5) "Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem."

REVILLOUT, E. Les Apocryphes coptes. I: Les Évangiles des Douze Apôtres et de S. Barthélemy. Texte Copte édité et traduit. (*Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. II Part 2.) Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904. Pp. 76. Fr. 5.

The editors of the new *Patrologia* begin with this the publication of all the New Testament apocrypha extant in Coptic—gospels, lives of Mary, the apostles, etc., and apocalypses.

TRUMBULL, C. G. A Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: The Story of the Cruise to the World's Fourth Sunday-School Convention, Held in the City of Jerusalem, and of a Ride through Palestine. Illustrated. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1905. Pp. xxii+437. $2.50.

An interesting and informal journal of the writer's visit to Palestine for the Sunday-School Convention of 1904, of which the illustrations help to make the book a beautiful and appropriate souvenir.

ARTICLES

VLACHOS, N. P. Religious Prophetism among the Greeks. II: Hesiod—Dionysiac Worship. *Reformed Church Review*, January, 1905, pp. 61–80.

OEHLER, W. Die Ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus. I. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XXVIII, Heft 1, pp. 1–26.

The notices in Josephus bearing upon the topography and geography of Galilee, so important as being contemporary with New Testament times, are collected and discussed.

ADLER, MARCUS N. The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (continued). *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1905, pp. 286–306.

The account given by Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, of his travels to Palestine and about that country about 1168 A. D., is one of the most important mediæval sources bearing upon Palestinian topography and archæology. The critical Hebrew text now appearing, with translation, in the *Jewish Quarterly*, promises to make this interesting document available in a more trustworthy and convenient form than heretofore.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Early Christian Art of Isaura Nova. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIV, Part II, pp. 260–92.

Interesting epigraphic gleanings of Professor and Mrs. Ramsay's travels in an out-of-the-way part of Asia Minor.

TAYLOR, C. Enoch and Clement. *Journal of Philology*, No. 58, pp. 185–98.

Evidence is adduced to show that Clement of Rome knew the Book of Enoch and used it in his Epistle to the Corinthians.



THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXV APRIL, 1905 NUMBER 4

Editorials

CAN WE WORK TOGETHER?

The *Biblical World* offers no apology for printing in its pages the interesting collection of statements from living theologians which appears in the present issue under the title, "The Foundations of Religious Belief." The journal represents, indeed, biblical study rather than theology in either the broader or the narrower sense. Yet it has never stood for biblical study as opposed to theology, nor is it the conviction of the editors that biblical study can isolate itself from the other departments of theological investigation. Whether we study the Bible or theology, it is with the ultimate aim that we may find the truth, the knowledge of which is contributory to right living; and, occasionally at least, it is profitable to inquire of our fellow-seekers after religious truth concerning their work, that we may consider how our cognate tasks relate themselves one to another.

These statements which we publish make it evident that there is a considerable diversity in the point of view from which theologians of today approach their problem, and the method by which they reach their results. Doubtless this would have been still more evident if the number of contributions had been larger. The diversity of point of approach and method is conspicuous, and is of special interest to us in respect to the use of the Scriptures. We do not assume to speak for theologians in general, or for our contributors in particular—they, at least, speak clearly for themselves; but, looking at the matter from the point of view of the biblical student interested in theology, and recognizing the intimate relation between

biblical and theological study, we discern at least two quite distinct attitudes toward the Bible in its relation to theology.

ONE POINT OF VIEW

The first of these attitudes may be summed up in three propositions:

1. Natural theology or philosophy furnishes a basis for belief in the existence and goodness of God; in this is involved the judgment that God may be known, and the probability that he has given a revelation beyond that which is furnished by natural theology.

2. The life of Jesus, as recorded in the Scripture, is self-evidently the life of a real person, and his life and teachings accredit him as an authoritative teacher on the matters of which he spoke.

3. This authority of Jesus vouches, on the one side, for the religious teachings of the Old Testament and, on the other side, for those of the New Testament. The statements of Jesus concerning the Old Testament assure its truth, and the promise of the guidance of the divine Spirit to his followers certifies the reliability of their writings. Thus the Scriptures as a whole become for us, not indeed the sole source of truth, but the great authoritative source, in comparison with which all other sources become relatively unimportant. Consequently the content of theological doctrine will remain substantially unchanged from age to age.

ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

The second general view cannot perhaps be so briefly stated, but it may be summarized as follows:

1. The theological thinking of each generation and of each thinker must start with inherited ideas, convictions, and feelings which the theologian, like every other religious man, received uncritically from parents and early teachers, and from experiences which were largely influenced by such teaching. Such inherited beliefs, however, are to be tested by the facts of experience, and new beliefs are to be derived from the interpretation of these facts. Theology is not a thing isolated from experience, a formulation of truths given in a book, and requiring only to be brought together into a system; it is intimately related to life. It follows almost as a matter of necessity that theology is neither a complete nor a stable science. Exist-

ing for the practical end of promoting good living, it must emphasize in each generation and for each people the specific needs of that generation and people.

2. The experience by which old beliefs are to be tested and revised, and from which new ones are to be derived, is ideally the religious and moral experience of the race. Nothing that comes within the range of human ethical and religious experience is really foreign to the theologian. Yet in this vast area there must be selection, and stress should be especially laid upon two fields, and still more upon a central area in each of these.

The first of these is the experience of the Hebrew race, with its peculiar genius for religion, its exceptionally rich and deep religious experience, and its long line of seers, prophets, and wise men. This experience of a race finds its culmination and center in Jesus Christ, in his life, his character, his interpretation of the world, his conception of God and man; himself, in short. This is the mountain peak of the religious experience of humanity, from which, as from no other point in human history, one may gain a vision of the eternal realities.

The second area of pre-eminent importance is the experience of living men, which is of special importance and value because it is immediately accessible and, being cast in the mold of our own mode of thought, is the more susceptible of close study and accurate interpretation. The center of this area is the religious experience of the theologian himself. To lack this is to lack the key to the understanding of the experience of other men, of Jesus, of the race. One might still catalogue other men's religious emotions, convictions, actions; but to catalogue is not to have read, still less to have understood.

3. The Bible, therefore, relates itself to theology as the record of a portion of the experience of the race—a portion, however, that is of pre-eminent importance, because of the long line of seers and prophets which it includes, and especially because to it belongs that most significant fact of the religious history of humanity, the fact of Jesus Christ. Unless there are in store for the race experiences very different from those of the last eighteen centuries, the Bible can never cease to be of importance to men in their religious lives, and so to theologians.

MUST THESE VIEWS BE ANTAGONISTIC?

The second position differs from the first, not, as is sometimes affirmed, in discarding the Bible or in depreciating its value, but rather in the refusal to isolate the Bible from all other historical reality. The value of the Bible is found, not by first defining it as a unique literature, but by discovering, through comparison of it with other literatures, and through personal appreciation of its spiritual message, that it deserves the supreme place in our theological thinking. The first position has the advantage of definiteness, and makes the process of formulating theology the simple one of apprehending the contents of the Bible. Moreover, it can rightly claim to be the position which has been adopted and tested by centuries of Christian thought.

That all theologians would be satisfied with one or the other of these statements we do not suppose; a complete representation of the present variety of view would call for yet other formulations. But this fact only adds force and pertinence to the question which we desire to raise: Can theologians whose method of approach to this problem, and whose attitude toward Scripture, are so diverse, recognize one another as associates and fellow-workers? Can those who hold what they regard as the stricter view of the authority of Scripture tolerate and recognize as fellow-workers those who are constrained to count the Scriptures simply as among the records of religious experience, exceptionally valuable, because of the exceptionally significant nature of the experiences there recorded, but subject, like other records, to historical criticism to determine the facts, and authoritative, as other records are, for what the facts through their interpretation establish? Can those who are constrained to seek, and who believe that in the Bible they find, an authoritative literature, a body of authoritative teachings, count as friends and not as enemies those who, unconvinced by the arguments that are advanced in support of the authority of this literature, or moved by the spirit of the time and influenced by the method of investigation prevalent in other fields of study, are compelled to seek for the truth of religion as scholars seek for truth in other realms—in economics, or sociology, or psychology—viz., by the interpretation of facts ascertained by observation or historical investigation? Working upon

the same body of facts, having the same end in view, shall men who differ by a mental or moral necessity in their conceptions of the path by which the truth is to be reached, oppose one another because of the difference in method? Or shall they rejoice each in the other's work because of their unity of purpose, and their conviction that all honest study must contribute in the end to the discovery of the truth? Without for a moment blinking the fact that such difference in point of view must result in real diversity of judgment even upon questions of great significance, and that these differences call for frank statement and full discussion, we are yet constrained to plead for mutual appreciation and a spirit of co-operation. Our task is a common one; our aim is one. Amid all diversity of method and of view, let us recognize the unity of our purpose, and work side by side as friends, not as foes.

CAN A HIGHER CRITIC SAVE SOULS?

It has been a common charge brought against the historical study of the Bible that it does not "save souls." To complete the argument, attention has been triumphantly called to the fact that "evangelists" are not higher critics. That seemed to end discussion.

For our part, we are inclined to think that the test, while not the only one, is a fair one. But not just as stated. You do not expect to test the value of a chemist's work by comparing him with a cook. Yet both use chemical forces, and the relation of one to the other is not unlike that existing between the technically critical student and the worker in practical religion. Investigation, whether carried on by conservatives, semi-conservatives, or radicals, is not in itself an evangelistic proceeding. Unless we are mistaken, professors of Hebrew, even of the most anti-higher-criticism type, have not reached any particular prominence as evangelists. Criticism and evangelism are two very distinct phases of religious life. Why judge one by the other? Many of the most prominent evangelists have been pre-millennarians; must a man who is not a pre-millennarian despair of being an evangelist?

To say that higher criticism in itself is not a means of saving souls is a very different thing from saying that men under its influence cannot be evangelists or men of real religious influence. The com-

parison should not be drawn between theological professors and evangelists, but between the relative efficiency of ministers who share, and those who do not share, in the general point of view which higher criticism represents. And even here it is not fair to compare failures in one class with successes in another. If comparisons are to be made, at least let them be honest. Once let conditions be fairly equalized, and it will appear that men in sympathy with critical views are just as active and successful; in fact, from statistics which lie before us, in certain regions they are more active and more successful than men not in sympathy with such views.

The test of efficiency is legitimate and desirable. If critical methods make men less effective, it is certainly a serious outlook for the church. The methods themselves cannot be abandoned. They are right. It is therefore a reassuring thing to find that in the case of hundreds of young men who in the last ten years have gone out into the ministry trained under the influence of men holding the critical view of the Scriptures there is to be found an increase rather than a decline in religious zeal.

An interesting illustration of this is the evangelistic campaign being conducted by Dr. William J. Dawson. As America sends an anti-critical evangelist to Great Britain, so Great Britain sends a genuinely modern man to help save America. Dr. Dawson is in sympathy with modern scholarship, and in that spirit has written an exceedingly beautiful, altogether too little known, "Life of Christ." Yet men are being turned away by the hundreds from his meetings in Boston. It is true that they are from the more intelligent classes; but even intelligent people are worth saving. Why not save them?

Let us be willing to do as Peter and Paul did, divide the work of evangelization. Some men want the gospel preached from one point of view; others want it preached from another. Some men like a Peter; others like a Paul. There is only one gospel. But today, as in the day of the council at Jerusalem, there are all sorts of men to be saved. Why assume that they are all subject to the same sort of intellectual appeal?

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF THE DEAD SEA VALLEY

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The valley of the Jordan, and especially the Dead Sea[1] at its southern end, is in physical features unique and very interesting. The Jordan rises by four sources, all more or less drawing their supplies from the snow-clad heights of Hermon. Near its southern roots we have the great fountains of Banias and El Kady; at the northwest is the longer, but smaller, tributary, the Hesbany; while still more to the west is a small stream, the Nahr Bareigheit, from Merj Aiyun. The water from these various sources all unite in the great marsh of the Huleh, and appear in one volume in Lake Huleh—the Samachonitis of Josephus. This little lake—4 miles long, 3½ miles broad, and of an average depth of eleven feet—is chiefly interesting as the home of the papyrus—the ancient source of the first writing-paper, which covers much of its waters. It is believed to support the largest mass of these reeds in the world. Where the Jordan leaves the southern end of the Huleh, it is just above the level of the Mediterranean; but in its course to the Lake of Galilee it descends through less than ten miles to 680 feet below sea-level. For the greater part of this course the river is one long series of cataracts and waterfalls.

The Lake of Galilee I am to describe in a subsequent paper. It is some 13 miles long and 6 broad, with a depth of 150 feet. The water is clear and pure, swarming with fish of some forty varieties, of which fourteen or fifteen are peculiar to this region. The cliffs around the lake are very largely of volcanic rock, and evidences of slumbering fires are shown in the abundant hot and sulphuretted springs near Tiberias and in the valley of the Yarmuk. Severe earthquakes have several times visited the region, and in 1837 a

[1] In the *Biblical World* for May, 1903, was an excellent paper on "Exploration in the Dead Sea Region," by Rev. Putnam Cady. The writer of the present article has endeavored to supplement, without repeating, the information there given.

great part of Tiberias and Safed, on the hills high above the lake, was destroyed.

From the Sea of Tiberias to the Dead Sea is, in a straight line, 60 miles; but such are the extraordinary windings of the river that the length of the Jordan between these points is at least 200 miles. On this course the fall is from 680 to 1,300 feet below sea-level; the most rapid drop is in the upper part of the river's course, on which there



PRECIPITOUS CLIFFS ON THE WEST SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA
(Behind 'Ain Feshkhah)

are "twenty-seven tributary rapids besides a great many of lesser magnitude."[2] The Jordan lies in a winding bed of its own, known to the natives as the Zor, which in flood-time it practically covers, but through which in ordinary seasons it winds amid a great tangle of brushwood and trees—the "pride of Jordan" of the Old Testament. In places it washes against high perpendicular banks of marl, which it gradually undermines at their bases, so that occasionally they descend into the river and temporarily dam up its course until it forces for itself a new channel. The river, which is

[2] Lieutenant Lynch's *Report*, 1848.

always thus wearing away its banks, reaches the Dead Sea loaded with sediment. This it deposits along its mouth, forming a delta, but a sterile one because saturated with brine.

The Dead Sea is 47 miles long by 10 miles broad, with a depth, at a line not far from its eastern shore, of 1,300 feet. This depth, along the line of the great "fault"—the line of shifting of the earth's crust, the cause of this great rift—is exceptional, and along the west



THE VIEW ON THE NORTH SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA
(Where there are cliffs of marl and salt twenty feet high)

shore it is much less, while to the south the sea is quite shallow. The western and eastern coasts are steep, and the approaches to the beach difficult, especially in the case of the latter. Indeed, along a great part of the east coast the cliffs fall perpendicularly to the water, and even the great wadies of the Zerka Ma'an and the Mojib are too steep to traverse to or from the water's edge. At many places there are hot springs, especially in the Zerka Ma'an (the ancient Callirrhoe), where the water bursts up on all sides of the valley too hot for one to hold one's hand in it. On the whole, however, there is less sign of old volcanic activity around the Dead Sea than around the Sea of

Galilee, and the cliffs are more generally limestone, with some sandstone on the east, than volcanic rock.

The northern shore is mostly a plain, and the land slopes up gently in terraces. At one spot there are perpendicular cliffs of stratified marl 20 feet high. There are extensive lagoons on this shore, where salt is crystallized for commercial use. It is a government monopoly, and during much of the year the district is protected against smugglers; but when in the rainy season the soldiers are withdrawn, the bedouin help themselves freely. They stoop and plunge into the intensely salt fluid in the "salt pans" and drag up great masses from the bottom. The task of smuggling the salt into the towns is one requiring alertness and intrepidity, for, if caught, the bedouin are liable not only to lose their salt, but also all their camels and mules.

The south end of the Dead Sea consists of a great shallow bay from 2 to 20 feet deep, and the extreme southern shore is low marshy land liable to floods. To the southwest is a famous hill, Jebal Usdum, 600 feet high, consisting of strata of rock salt and marl. This great bay is shut off from the main body of water by a promontory 9 miles long known as El Lisan, or "the tongue." It is a great mass of stratified marl and rock salt. The comparatively narrow passage between the western end of El Lisan and the western shore was connected at one time by a causeway. Traces of a Roman road in this direction make it probable this causeway was used in Roman times, and the ruins of a crusading castle opposite where it reached the shore suggests that at that period also it was available. When the explorers Irby and Mangles[3] were here in 1818, they saw a caravan crossing through the water at this spot, but for some seventy or eighty years the water has been too deep for such a purpose. In all probability there have for centuries been periods when the passage was fordable, and other periods when a rise in the level of the Dead Sea made it impassible. It has been suggested that the disappearance of this causeway was due to the severe earthquake of 1837, but more probably it is due simply to periodical changes in the depth of the sea depending upon the varying rainfall. There appear to be cycles of very wet seasons, when the rainfall over the land is much above

[3] Two commanders of the Royal Navy who made an extensive tour in Palestine early in the nineteenth century.

the average, and, a greater mass of water reaching the sea (evaporation, too, being somewhat checked by extra humidity and cold), the level rises; and there are cycles when the rainfall for successive seasons is scanty and the Dead Sea level falls. At the present time we are in the middle of one of these latter periods, and the level is steadily lowering every year.[4] The highest level reached last year was 2 feet 8 inches less than the highest in 1900. The variation in



BEDOUIN SALT SMUGGLERS
(Gathering salt in the lagoon at the north shore of the Dead Sea)

level during any given season is between 6 and 26 inches, according to the meteorological conditions. There are many evidences that the level of the Dead Sea has varied backward and forward from time to time.

The denseness and consequent buoyancy of the Dead Sea water is famous. It is difficult to sink in it, though it requires some effort to keep balanced on account of the tendency for the feet to rise. Not easily stirred into angry waves, indeed usually smooth, the water

[4] For fuller information on these and some other points mentioned here see *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, and January, 1904.

when roused beats with great force against the side of a boat. The composition of the Dead Sea water is interesting. Besides containing, on an average, four times as much salt in solution as the ocean, it contains a certain proportion of bromine, derived, it is supposed, from the hot springs that rise under and around its waters. The surface of the Sea is somewhat greasy from the presence of a small



THE MOAB SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA

amount of oily or bituminous material. At times, and especially after earthquakes, large masses of bitumen float up from the bottom. In 1834 a piece was floated ashore near the southwest end which was estimated to weigh 6,000 pounds; and in 1837, after the still more severe earthquake, a piece was blown ashore large enough for seventy bedouin to stand on at once.[1]

[1] It is supposed by some that it was the ignition of bituminous and oily materials that caused the great conflagration which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.

The wind in the Jordan valley is noticeable for its variableness. On the Sea of Galilee its uncertainty is famous, while on the Dead Sea it seems seldom to blow for many hours in any one direction. As a rule, dawn is ushered in with a gentle northeast or east breeze. Later in the day the direction is southwest. Toward sunset there is a fairly constant north or northwest breeze, which fails after midnight.



TREES GROWING IN THE DEAD SEA ON THE MOAB SHORE

The evening breeze can be more counted on than a wind from the south, and it is therefore much more easy to run down to the south end of the Dead Sea than to return. Today it is a common experience that the boat which in a few hours sails by night to the Leisan, with goods for Kerak, not infrequently requires two or three days to return, for want of a favorable wind.

At such a depth, so shut in, the heat at the Dead Sea is at all times

great, though in the winter months it is not disagreeable; but from May to October it is an impossible climate for a European.

Geologists tell us that the great rift of the Jordan valley was once an arm of the sea, practically a continuation northwards of the Red Sea; that it was cut off at a remote period by the rising of the land to the south; that, at a later period of excessive rain, the level became even higher than that of the ocean. This latter fact is witnessed to by the existence of terraces, evidently cement beaches, high above the present sea-level.

At this time the valley must have contained an unbroken sheet of water over 200 miles in length. A process of dessication then set in, and the water gradually diminished over many centuries or millenniums, sometimes remaining stationary for a time—a period marked by the formation of a well marked terrace or raised beach—and at other times drying up more rapidly. During these changes a vast amount of sediment was deposited on the lake bottom, while the soluble salts from the rocks, together with the sea salt from the original ocean, became increasingly concentrated. As the lake diminished, collections of water were left behind near the northern end of the valley, and on the site of the present Lake of Tiberias. But these, being constantly scoured by the fresh water of the Jordan, were purified, so that at last all the salt became concentrated at the south. By the time the lake here had reached a height of 600 feet, about its present level, the water was too impregnated with salt to support animal life. This is demonstrated by the fact that the deposits at that height on Jebal Usdum show no fossil remains of marine life.

The bed of the original great lake became a fertile plain, known today by the Arabs as the Ghor; while the river, cutting its way between the lakes through the soft lacustrine deposits, has made for itself a deeper channel, the Zor.

The changes I have briefly described all occurred long before the dawn of history, before man lived on the earth. But what a drama has man played upon this stage! The tragedy of Sodom and Gomorrah in the dim beginnings of history, and the whole history of Jericho from its tottering walls in Joshua's day and the veiled tragedy of Hiel the Bethelite, down to the horrors of the last hours of the "Great" Herod! At the Sea of Galilee we have the fate, worse—we are told—

than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, which overtook the highly favored Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.[5] Here, also, and still more at the fortresses of Machærus and Masada,[6] was witnessed the bloody ending of the last national hopes of Judaism. A few centuries farther down, eastern Christianity, as a political power, was for its corruption utterly overthrown by the hordes of Mohammed's followers at Pella.[7] While another and more militant, but equally corrupt, power, aggressively flaunting a cross the essential teaching of which it despised, within sight of the Lake of Tiberias and on the slopes[8] toward its valley was crushed as signally. These events make a chapter of tragedy, though indeed a just verdict from history on sin and falsehood, such as nowhere in this earth is focused in so small an area. The horror of it all seems for many minds to have become projected on the landscape, and certainly until recent years people have viewed this great rift in the earth's surface, especially its southern end, as a place of ill omen. Looking at the scene with eyes prejudiced by all that has happened, they have seen threatening and danger when none existed, and have transformed a fair corner of God's earth into a brooding terror. During the first half of the nineteenth century there seems to have been much of this in the minds of the explorers who ventured to this region, and, sad to say, their fears were only too abundantly realized. Of these explorers I will speak in my next paper.

[5] Matt. 11:21–24; Luke 10:13–15.

[6] Josephus, *Wars*, VII, 6, 8, 9.

[7] The battle of the Yarmuk or Pella, 636 A. D.

[8] The battle of Hattin, 1187 A. D., when the Crusaders were almost annihilated.

My starting-point, of course, is the trustworthiness of the testimony of my nature in what it compels me to accept without reasoning. It is only on this assumption that we can have any reliable data for thought, or that our very processes of thought can be depended on. Assume that our intuitive and necessary ideas are not worthy of trust, and all certainty in science and philosophy, as well as in religion and theology, is swept away, and all search for truth and reality is vain. So far as our intuitive knowledge has to do with our present living, it is found practically reliable. We may well believe, then, that when our natures have feelings and longings which have to do with morality, religion, and what is beyond present verification, they give true testimony. Besides, we cannot believe that our natures, which recognize truth as a supreme obligation, can have a constitution so false as to make their primary impressions delusive.

In this way we have an assured basis for natural theology. But we cannot from this ground alone reach an answer to all the questions which have to do with God, immortality, and destiny. On some the light is dim, and on others it altogether fails. Is it possible for us to be assured of truth which is beyond the limits of our powers, perhaps beyond the limits of the powers of any who have not had a special experience or a special knowledge of truth in some other way?

All men do have an ability to recognize truth which transcends their experience or power to think through for themselves. Were it not for this principle, no one could be taught anything in any branch of knowledge so as to be certain of it. But we can be made certain through this power of discrimination, and broaden the area of what we accept as established. But even the reliable knowledge gained in this way, reaching out far beyond what we can be sure of through our individual experience and thought, falls far short of satisfying the demands of our natures, as the voice of conscience and our constitutional cravings bring us into relation to these tremendous

questions of God, immortality, and destiny. The question still remains: Is there any way by which we can be sure that teachings which avowedly answer these questions can be trusted? Can we step up from the narrower and lower ground of natural certainty to the higher and broader ground of supernatural authority?

In treating this question, I begin with our Lord. There is no way to explain the portraiture given of him, and the teachings attributed to him in the gospels, except on the ground that they are the records of a real life and substantially true. So far as our power to recognize the truth in teachings beyond our ability to elaborate extends to our Lord, his teachings are admitted by all candid students to transcend all ever given by others. Having taken this step with assurance, must we not take another, and be certain that a being such as he is declared to be in the gospels, who is able to give forth these peerless teachings, can be trusted both to know who he is and what is the source of his surpassing power as a teacher, and to tell the truth if he speaks at all? I cannot logically stop short of this position. I can then search his statements, and I find that he did assume that both by nature and endowment he was an authoritative teacher whose word was final on all questions on which he spoke. I can, then, not only believe that teachings which are all true to the utmost limits of my natural power to recognize truth will be true when they go beyond them, but I can take the step up from the ground of natural certainty to that of authority.

But if our Lord was an infallible and authoritative religious teacher, he must not only himself have been able to give us reliable religious teachings on all that is fateful for our souls, but he must also have been able to give just as infallible a judgment on the teachings of others. I can, therefore, accept his estimate of the religious instruction of the Old Testament. He also promised to his disciples a special help of the Spirit which would qualify them to complete his own teaching by adding to it what they were unprepared to receive before his death. We cannot believe he would have made this promise unless he knew it would be fulfilled. The New Testament writers professed to have received this power, and assumed to instruct with corresponding authority. It is noticeable that all the Scripture writers who gave forth truth in advance of their age, if not of all the ages, claim to

have help from God. Can we believe that men capable of teachings of this pre-eminent character would make this claim unless sure it was a true one?

In this way, generally, I reach the conclusion that the Scriptures may be taken as the determinative factor in my theological thought. Next to the Scriptures, accepted from considerations given above and from others which I cannot mention, I rely upon the testimony of moral consciousness. I treat the question of miracles in connection with the two supernatural facts which I regard as established—the supernatural person of Christ and his resurrection. I also seek to get all the help possible from all sources of assured knowledge, by keeping in touch with the best thought of the time.

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My doctrinal convictions followed the traditions of a Christian family, and were one by one corroborated in my experience. When it became my part as a student and a pastor to look into and arrange the contents of these largely inherited beliefs, I made use of the scientific idea of law as an order of facts determined by the nature of the facts. Such an order reveals first the qualities of things, and then their relations. My theological scheme has therefore resulted from what seemed to me the nature of the spiritual realities which were to be studied. So far as their law could be ascertained I have been willing to go; so far as it has remained obscure I dare pretend only to guess; but so far as the nature of a spiritual reality is inscrutable, for reasons which can be given, I decline even to guess, and stand for a Christian agnosticism.

Such a method may seem to threaten right and left. It indeed reconstructs theological expositions and explanations; but, on the whole, it is thoroughly conservative, as it ought to be, unless we admit that the inmost nature of spiritual realities, so far as looked into by Christian people, has always been mistaken.

So long as my beliefs were merely traditional, they included the traditional belief as to the Bible's authority, and accepted the traditional interpretations. After it fell to me to construct a reasoned view of religious truth, the Bible, interpreted by the strict methods of

biblical theology, still seemed to be an exposition of the spiritual realities which have been attested by Christian experience then and now, especially when investigated by the rigorous scrutiny of a scientific conception of law.

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First of all, I believe in God, and am convinced that the light which Jesus Christ has given upon God and the relations in which men stand to him is true light, and that the living God is such a God as Jesus has revealed. This is my fixed point in religion and life, and therefore in theology.

How did I obtain this first conviction? Belief in God is to me the large outcome of life, my own and that of others. Nothing else makes life rational; and that life is rational I am compelled to hold. The Christian belief in God has appearances enough against it, but I am sure that the venture of faith, affirming it, is the most reasonable of acts, since it is the recognition of that which alone can make all reasonable. If this is an honest world, as all our life assumes, then there is a good God in it and over it, and such relations with him as the gospel of Christ proposes and brings to pass are normal relations for us to hold. So I am sure that it is reasonable and right for me to trust that heart of need and aspiration which cries out for the living God and finds him in Christ.

When I have found God as he appears in Christ, I have found my theology. His character is decisive. Not from a text or two, but from the large effect of Jesus Christ and his revealing work, I obtain the vision of God's perfect goodness; and then I know that in theology all is true that follows from that perfect goodness or is harmonious with it, and nothing is true that contradicts it or springs from a lower conception of him. Of whatever is securely grounded in what I may call the Christian character of God I am forever sure, and whatever has no foundation there I cannot hold. It might seem that this one element would determine for me only a small part of theology, but it covers more than one would think. It fixes the moral tone of all theology, and leads to sure thought on all the greatest themes. And what it does determine it determines absolutely, with an authority unparalleled.

In matters that are not governed by the character of God, I have only such convictions as I may be able to obtain, and they are all that I need. The metaphysical aspects of theology are less important than the moral and religious, and if I cannot reach satisfactory conclusions concerning them, I can wait. I do what I can to think the problems through, but my conclusions are at once less certain and less indispensable than in the moral realm. Respecting matters that depend upon historical information the same is true. I must make honest use of facts, and accept what they bring me. Whatever criticism may soundly teach me I will accept, and the testimony of history I will receive as final in its own field. But the great testimony of Jesus Christ concerning God, which is "the master-light of all my seeing," is so plain and self-commending, and has become so inwrought to life and experience, that it cannot be lost, but stands true forever. Therefore I do not expect that my fundamental certainties in theology will be radically changed, in this world or in any other.

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It must be said at once that there is no one single path, to the exclusion of all others, which leads to the goal of theological certainty. In other words, the ascertainment of theological truth is a complex matter. Many processes enter into it. Many sources contribute to it.

One may place the question before himself in several different forms: (1) What was the process by which I gradually matured, through the whole course of my study and experience, my present theological convictions? (2) What is the logical beginning, basis, or root of those convictions as they now stand? (3) In what form and order would I present the various parts of the subject to those whom I might have occasion to instruct with a view to their preparation for the Christian ministry?

Now, the chronological development of beliefs in experience might not, and probably never would, correspond at all closely to the order of pure logic. We form our first religious impression and conviction under the influence of that moral authority which we instinctively accord to our parents and early teachers. We begin as traditionalists. We derive our first belief, as it were, from the

atmosphere by which we are surrounded. Then, as we grow more mature, we reflect on these beliefs and modify and develop them, and this process goes on as long as we continue to grow. When we have fixed and stereotyped all our religious ideas into a final form, that means that we are beyond the capacity for further progress. Now, these traditional impressions and beliefs supply the initial material for all subsequent theological convictions. However much they may be transformed and expanded, it will always remain true that it was with these that we began, and our theological progress will always have a point of connection with our earliest religious ideas and convictions. Of course, this process will vary greatly with different men in differing environments. It may take some such form as this: We are taught what Jesus says, or what will please him—the assumption of our elders being received by us that his words and wishes have special authority or importance; gradually we learn to clothe his sayings with a meaning which is real for us, to associate them with a supreme moral Power, and to test their value in experience. But this development of thought will never start from an abstract logical beginning. We can only analyze it and systematize it logically by reflection afterward.

These suggestions are intended to bear upon the question; How did I arrive at my theological convictions, in point of fact? The answer is: First of all, by an almost passive acquiescence, by early training, influence, atmosphere; then, later, by reflection, by study of history, of nature, of philosophy, by an effort to interpret the fact of Christ, the content of experience, the meaning of history.

But if the question be: How do I now try to give to myself or to others a logical account of my theological convictions, then the order of procedure would be very different. In reflective thought that which is chronologically last is apt to be logically first. The deeper truths of philosophy, its greatest generalizations are, logically, its "first truths." Hence, in giving a logical account of the structure of my beliefs I begin with the reasons for belief in God—the grounds for a spiritual philosophy—and I find a study of these reasons far-reaching, involving a consideration of the interpretation of history and of the meaning and ends of human life.

If the problem be how to present the subject in question to a class,

one may pursue either the more abstract, logical method, or keep closer to the order of experience. I am growing more favorable to the latter plan. In either case, the same problems have to be traversed, and they may be scientifically dealt with on either plan. But in experience we come to know God primarily through Christ. A good method is: Study his life, teaching, person, and in the light of these approach and estimate the various problems of theological speculation.

Respecting the Bible as a source of religious knowledge, I should say that by its use we are brought into contact with a unique revelation of God in human history, and, especially, in the person, teaching, and life-work of Jesus Christ, the consummate Revealer and Interpreter of God. The Bible, therefore, clarifies, extends, and enriches our knowledge of God. But it could not do this for us if we were not religious—that is, kindred to God by nature—and if the idea of God were not native to our minds and hearts. We find in experience that the God whom the Bible reveals and Jesus Christ interprets is congruous—yes, identical—with the God whom we had dimly discerned in nature, and whose authority we had recognized in conscience. Biblical history, the natural order, the moral nature of man—all are witnesses to the same God; all reveal him; all are therefore necessary sources of our knowledge of him.

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I find myself, in my theological thinking, inclined to work more and more directly from the fact of Christ himself—his life, his teachings, and especially his consciousness—as the greatest and most significant fact in the world, and so our best light on living, and our best proof of even the existence of God, in the full Christian sense. The argument goes upon the simple assumption that, if we are ever to discern the real nature either of true living or of the ultimate world-ground, our best light must come from the greatest and most significant facts. For myself, I have no doubt that Christ is the most significant of all facts known to us, and therefore the best basis for direct and decisive inference both as to true life and as to the nature of the world-ground. The argument does not at all go, it should be noticed, upon any assumption of the arbitrary authority of Jesus,

but simply upon the significance of what he is. Any authority subsequently given him must be based wholly upon the fact of what he is in fact found to be. I count the fact of Christ the greatest of all proofs of the completely satisfying God—the proof most powerful to produce conviction in the mind of a man who has come to full moral self-consciousness.

One may argue, similarly (but less decisively, so long as Christ is omitted), from the whole historical revelation of God—from the line of the prophets and from the great spiritual seers of all time—as the greatest and most significant historical movement of the world. Persons are incontrovertibly the greatest facts and the most significant data; and to ignore them is to ignore the most decisive evidences in our search for God and for the secret of living. We are not to suppose that the argument from such personalities is less significant than the argument from things. God is best known in his completest manifestations.

It is just at this point that the surpassing importance of the Bible comes out for me—as the book that puts us in touch with the most significant religious development and the most significant religious personalities of history, culminating in Christ, and so contains the record of the pre-eminent meetings of men with God, of the progressive revelation of God to men. In this progressive revelation, all other stages must be judged by the culmination in Christ. Christ is Lord in the Bible as well as out of it; and its supreme service is its placing us face to face with him. Treated as a book throbbing thus with personal life—as a book of honest testimony to experience, broad and deep, in the moral and spiritual life, and approached through a historical method—I have no doubt that the Bible will increasingly prove what the free critic, Edmond Scherer, claimed:

> The Bible will ever be the book of power, the marvelous book, the *book* above all others. It will ever be the light of the mind and the bread of the soul. Neither the superstitions of some nor the irreligious negations of others have been able to do it harm. If there is anything certain in the world, it is that the destinies of the Bible are linked with the destinies of holiness on earth.

I find myself, also, inclined to give increasing weight to that which is rational, not merely in the narrower intellectual sense, but in the broader sense of that which is really worth while, as judged from the point of view of man as a feeling and willing, as well as a thinking, being.

In the study of individual theological problems, I am inclined to use increasingly, as the surest key of interpretation, man's own personal life and his deepest experience in personal relations—feeling sure that that which is nearest and most real and most significant to ourselves must prove the surest key in the interpretation of the deepest in God and in other men.

I aim, therefore, to require of myself, in all my theological statements, that these statements shall be manifestly real, rational, vital; thoroughly ethical, never mechanical; and capable of verification in the honest experience of the individual. And I feel increasingly that the two considerations that must especially move us in coming into the reality, first of religion, and then through religion into reality in our theological thinking, are: first, we must put ourselves persistently in the presence of the great facts of the spiritual world in voluntary surrender to them; especially remembering how inextricably the reality of the spiritual world is bound up in persistent loyalty to the ethical demand; second, we must follow the laws of the spiritual life. This means, it seems to me, that we must persistently fulfil the conditions of a deepening personal relation with God, only being sure that we do not transfer to God the limitations of the finite. The precise conditions of the spiritual life can be so pointed out and fulfilled, and we may count upon the result. Every bit of experience in human relations thus throws light upon the divine. The ethical and religious are bound up together, and all life becomes truly one—a life of learning to love.

I regard as highly important, though supplementary, the light that comes on the inductive side from natural science, including psychology, and from history, and from the attempt of philosophy to think the world through into a true unity. I need hardly say that I have to think of these things as ideals, rather than as accomplished results.

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OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM AND THE PULPIT

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The question whether or not critical studies tend to make preaching effective might well be discussed on the basis of the excellent book published nearly two years ago by Professor McFadyen, entitled *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church*. It is a pity that all discussions of the subject cannot be conducted in the irenic spirit of this book. Humor may have some place in serious argument, but ridicule and abuse can only cloud the issues. Nothing can be more unfortunate than the spectacle of Christian teachers accusing one another of dishonesty, and sneering at one another's puerility and ignorance. This is not said as a plea for mercy from the side that has been beaten in the war of wits. The brilliant satire of Wellhausen is at least equal to the ridicule of the author of *Daniel in the Critics' Den*. But neither has aided the cause of truth, nor led the people who look for guidance to a more reverent attitude toward the sacred Scriptures.

Of course higher criticism as such must not be obtruded into the pulpit. Indeed, as McFadyen well points out, the very name is unfortunate. With all its literary propriety, it can never be dissociated from seeming arrogance and hostility. To be sure, as he shows conclusively, all present-day students are really critics. The process by which Professor Green defended the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was exactly the same critical process as that by which other scholars have attempted to prove its composite authorship. Yet the term "critic" has come to be a party name, and as such is unfortunate.

The question that is involved is really one of historical and literary method. Are the Scriptures to be treated as literature? Is the history of the Hebrews to be treated as history? Professor McFadyen insists most clearly that these questions must be answered in the affirmative. And he shows further that the employment

of these methods of study is not new. They go back to the ablest exegete in the early church. Luther freely employed them. And their essential application to the questions of authorship and historicity was laid down one hundred and fifty years ago. Criticism is not a brand-new invention of German rationalism. Criticism is investigation. And investigation is of the essence of Protestantism. We have not given up the authority of popes and councils to accept that of Jewish rabbis, ancient superscriptions, and traditional interpretations. The honest student must be a critic. The preacher who uses the Old Testament as anything but a book of texts must be a critic. As soon as he asks himself what a statement of priest or prophet or sage means, or asks himself how any incident or story is to be understood, he is a higher critic.

The opponent of criticism will, of course, admit that the student must ask himself these questions, but he will add that it must be with due regard for the authority of Christ and Scripture. Professor McFadyen has gone to the root of the difference between the opposing schools of thought in discussing the relation of criticism to Christ, to the supernatural, and to inspiration. There can be no doubt that many who would welcome the historical and literary study of the Old Testament are fearful that it means the lessening of the authority of Christ, the elimination of the supernatural character of the history and literature, and thus the virtual denial of inspiration.

Nothing can be more important than a frank and reverent treatment of these questions. No preaching can be effective which ignores their importance. It is characteristic of the charm and helpfulness of this very Christian book that the author discusses these matters sympathetically and fairly, fully appreciating the views of those whom he opposes, yet distinctly proving that the conflict is not of essence, but of definitions. The reverent critical student finds that Christ taught absolutely nothing about Old Testament authorship and history. He used the Old Testament as a great religious revelation. He has not said a word to bind the course of free inquiry with regard to matters which could never have been considered in his day.

The critical student discovers, further, that the history and literature of the Hebrews manifest throughout, in the most remarkable

manner, the presence and power of God. He will, of course, study any given miraculous narrative without prepossession for or against its unusual character. And even when he decides that the waters rising as a wall on each side of the children of Israel, and the sun standing still in the heavens at the prayer of Joshua, are prosaic interpretations of poetic descriptions, he will still recognize the mighty presence and leadership of Jehovah in the exodus from Egypt and in the conquest of the Promised Land. As McFadyen has so well pointed out, it is just the student who most carefully relates the history and literature of Israel to the contemporary Semitic environment who discovers their unique character. And so he quotes Professor Sanday: "My experience is that criticism leads straight up to the supernatural, and not away from it."

With regard to inspiration, it is not likely that the critical student, after careful study of the facts, will define it as such an influence of the divine Spirit upon the biblical writers that they always expressed exactly the mind of God for all people and for all time, without any single, slightest, historical, geographical, or scientific inaccuracy. He will know that such a definition is theological and not biblical. His search will reveal to him that the Bible nowhere makes such a claim for itself. But the more carefully he comes to know the Old Testament writers, the more certain will he be that they speak from God, as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, and he will realize that the Old Testament is the word of God.

The result of critical Old Testament study for the preacher is inevitably that he finds a wealth of material that is "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness." To use Mr. McFadyen's word, criticism has recovered the humanity of the Bible, while preserving its divinity. And as the recovery of the humanity of Christ has stimulated, enriched, and humanized preaching, while his glorious divine character has only shone out the more clearly, so the realization of the humanness of these old writings, where priests taught, and prophets preached, and sages thought, and psalmists prayed, makes them reasonable and stirring, while their great divine character remains their vital power.

Critical study makes for effective preaching by making the old Scripture real. Every schoolboy who has read Demosthenes has

been stirred with admiration for the patriot orator and has realized anew the value of liberty. How few preachers have ever made the same study of Isaiah and found in him a greater patriot orator than the Athenian! Who can study the first Book of Maccabees, and then, turning to Daniel, read the stories and visions as "tracts for the times," without living back in that age of heroism and thanking God for the heritage of truth that has come down through the heroes of the faith? To quote another of McFadyen's phrases, critical study makes a man a "citizen of the past." The hypothetical young man of the magazines, who does not go to church because there is too much "old Jerusalem" in the sermon, would be likely to be interested if the historical imagination of the preacher could make him live back in old Jerusalem, and realize that men then were tempted in all points like as he is, while prophets in marvelously modern language spoke the message of the righteousness of God.

The objection is often urged against critical study that it results in the obtrusion of the processes of the workshop into the pulpit. Rather the opposite is the fact. Only critical study can save us from such obtrusion. Who has not heard sermons on Abraham in which it was necessary for the preacher to show that climatic conditions in Syria are so preservative of female beauty that Sarah at sixty-five years of age would have been an object of great attraction to the Pharaoh? The first chapter of Genesis may be the subject of a noble sermon on God the Creator, but only if a man is able to free himself from the necessity of proving that it is an exact anticipation of modern scientific discovery. The Book of Jonah may be presented in its magnificent meaning as the missionary book of the Old Testament, teaching the universal love of God; but if the preacher be not a critical student, he will scarcely refrain from making the whale, perhaps with many infallible proofs from other whales, the outstanding idea of his sermon.

In preaching, the critical process need not be exhibited. It may be assumed. It would be insufferable pedantry to bring Deutero-Isaiah into the pulpit, but who can read George Adam Smith's exposition of the fortieth chapter of Isaiah without feeling that he must preach on "The Climax in the Commonplace" from the standpoint of the exile prophet in Babylon? The preacher will not refer

to the third chapter of Genesis as a myth; but he will avoid all attempt at historical detail. He will not concern himself with the pristine attitude of the serpent, or with the possibility of animal speech; he will present the temptation and the transgression as a picture of a universal human experience, which hearers old and young will understand, for they all have eaten of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The great lesson of that old story, so true that every conscience attests it, will make its own effective appeal. So again the preacher who is presenting the solemn lesson of the failure of the first king of Israel will not be obliged to discuss the critical problems connected with the rupture between Samuel and Saul. The old reasons for the divine determination to exterminate Amalek need neither be advanced nor controverted. The critical process may be assumed, and the fundamental truth that Saul was a man to whom petty political expediency was more than the national religious ideals may be presented with all its evident application to the conditions of today.

On the other hand, sometimes the critical process itself may be clearly used in preaching with admirable results. If the greatest piece of literature in the Old Testament—the Book of Job—is ever to be used in the pulpit, it must be frankly treated as a piece of literature. It does not teach the satanic agency in calamity, nor the inevitableness of human sorrow, nor the punishment of a self-righteous man. It teaches the mystery of evil and the mystery of good, suggests some meaning for the sorrow of the world, and reveals God over all, whom it is safe to trust.

An interesting illustration of the homiletic possibilities of criticism is afforded by the dual narratives of the introduction of David to King Saul. In one case he is represented as the young hero of Judah, who may soothe the king and lead his army. In the other story he is the shepherd lad, who in dependence on Jehovah, slays the giant with his mere sling. What are these two traditions that lived in Israel but the two ways in which every effort may be regarded? The one story delighted to remember the skill and prowess of the man whom Jehovah chose because he was the fittest to be the great king. The other story dwelt on the divine power making use of a consecrated human instrument. Both are true. They are the

two hemispheres of truth: "work out your own salvation . . . . for it is God that worketh in you." Here is a biblical narrative saved from painful harmonization, and used to yield its own rich double lesson.

Even so august a passage as the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, into which one would never intrude in a sermon the questions of date and authorship, may be made luminous by the simple critical process of reading the Hebrew tenses with consistency, thus getting the picture of the contrite Jew looking back upon the strangely misunderstood Servant of Jehovah: "He grew up before him as a tender plant . . . . he had no form nor comeliness . . . . surely he bore our griefs . . . . all we like sheep had gone astray, we had turned every one to his own way, and Jehovah laid on him the iniquity of us all."

Another manner in which critical study of the Old Testament makes for effective preaching is that it opens up portions of Scripture which are otherwise very difficult to use. Such a story as that of Samson is full of suggestiveness, but the preacher must explicitly make allowance for the rough days in which this hero of Dan performed his exploits, and the genial exaggeration which such heroic stories naturally undergo as they pass from mouth to mouth must be recognized. Then what a sermon the five stages of Samson present! There is the sacredness of childhood, the strength of manhood, the self-indulgence of the flesh, the slavery of habit, the salvation of the penitent. Of course, this last is expressed in a rude vengeance and an impossible catastrophe, but the divine grace coming back to the enslaved sinner is wonderfully impressive. Criticism does not weaken such a story, but by the very fact of making it one of the folk-tales of Israel places it where its beautiful rugged truth becomes clear. So of many an Old Testament story, which may not be the theme of a sermon, but may afford noble illustration of truth. If the fall of Jericho be treated as a splendid picture of the fall of evil before God's consecrated hosts, and the story of the three in the furnace as a promise that no earthly power can overcome spiritual truth, and the vision of the angelic hosts at Dothan as a divine revelation that truth is guarded by omnipotence, these narratives, instead of being the cause of skepticism and a fruitful opportunity for controversy, will shine as the illustrations of spiritual verities.

Before the critical view of the Bible the old-time weapons of infidelity disappear. The sting is completely drawn from the waspish attacks on Christianity which young men used to read so widely. The Old Testament takes its place as the wonderful literature of God's people, in which myth, legend, tradition, story, history, sermon, oration, vision, legislation, prayer, poem, lyric, epic, and dramatic all have their part and their message. And from this treasure-house the preacher, with wise discrimination, brings forth treasures new and old.



JEREMIAH

—*Michelangelo*

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD

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Alike in the Old Testament and in the New—in the sermons of the prophets, the sayings of Jesus, and the letters of the apostles—we hear the note of righteousness—the righteousness of God himself, the righteousness which he requires of men. What does it mean?

Mere formal definitions do not greatly aid us. If it be said: It is the rightness of God, the harmony of his will with his nature, his correspondence with what he ought to be, we have still to ask: What *is* his ethical nature? What does his character require?

The common view of God's righteousness has been that it was a name for the law and penalty side of his nature, in contrast with his mercy or grace—the retributive, vindicatory aspect of his character, from which his love is to be sharply distinguished.

But it is quite certain that this is not the biblical conception. The righteousness of God stands in no contrast to his mercy, but rather includes it. There is no such thing as a rivalry in him between punitive justice and forgiving love. Forgiveness and salvation, as well as his just judgments upon sin, flow forth from the divine righteousness. He is "a righteous God *and a Savior*." "Thy righteousness," says the Psalmist, "is like the mountains of God; thy judgments are a great deep; thou *savest* man and beast."

So far is righteousness from denoting an unconditional necessity to punish that it often denotes exactly the contrary. "Deliver me from guilt, O God of my salvation," prays the penitent, "and my tongue shall sing of thy *righteousness*." "Answer me in thy righteousness, and enter not into judgment with thy servant." Here righteousness means exemption from judgment; that is, the exact opposite of the common popular and dogmatic conception of it.

God's righteousness is equitableness. It is seen no less in protecting the innocent than in condemning and punishing the guilty. It is the foe of partiality, cruelty, and oppression. It is absolute

fairness in the treatment of men. If it involves hostility to their wrongs, it involves equally defense of their rights. In righteousness are united graciousness and uprightness, goodness and severity. Jeremiah's description of the character of Jehovah is that he is one who exercises, and delights in, lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth.

Such being the Old Testament conception of God's righteousness, it is easy to see what is the nature of a corresponding righteousness in man. Of him the righteous God requires not only that he shall "do justly," but that he shall "love mercy," and the nation which will reflect his character in its administration must, says Isaiah, "relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow."

We note here, throughout these various descriptions and allusions, the firm conviction that the will of God is stable and consistent, incapable of being moved from the strict line of rectitude and fairness by capricious passions on his own part, or by appeals or entreaties on the part of his worshipers. Unlike the deities of other ancient religions, Jehovah has a fixed and changeless moral character. This he will never lower, qualify, or change. In this ethical nature all his purposes and acts are grounded. Hence there can be no arbitrariness, or fickleness, or partiality with him. With him, as the New Testament says, is no variableness, nor shadow cast by turning. His perfections suffer no eclipse. Justice and judgment are the eternal foundation of his throne.

If now, as we have seen, justice and mercy are so closely akin; if, indeed, the righteousness of God includes his grace, then it would naturally include also his disposition to forgive. And we find that it is so. The Israelite appealed to the divine righteousness not only in expressing the consciousness of his sin, but equally in expressing his hope of forgiveness. God is a righteous judge in acquitting—upon appropriate conditions—as well as in punishing the impenitent. The "righteous acts of Jehovah," which Samuel recounts to the people, are the manifestations of his undeserved goodness which he showed to them and to their fathers, notwithstanding their rebellion and sin. "Deliver me in thy righteousness, and save me," is the Psalmist's prayer. He is confident of salvation because God is righteous. He knew well the truth which is still heard resounding

in one of the latest of our New Testament books: "God is righteous —*to forgive.*"

And here, too, the righteousness which God requires in men corresponds to that which dwells forever in his own nature. The "righteousness" which is often defined as consisting in the determination to inflict punishment and secure vengeance, is not the righteousness which the Old Testament commends. A man would not be righteous if he were not also benevolent. And yet, we are often told that punitive justice is the supreme excellence, alike in God and in man. This is to ascribe to the God of all grace a character which the prophets would condemn as unworthy to constitute "righteousness" *even in a man.*

When we turn to the letters of Paul, we meet questions of interpretation on which it would be inappropriate to enter here. But if in the mind of the apostle righteousness is, on the one hand, a judicial quality, which must express itself in the condemnation of sin, it is also a gracious quality—a name for the fidelity or trustworthiness of God, his faithfulness to his own nature and promises. What if we are unrighteous, that is, unfaithful to our obligations to God? exclaims the apostle; he will not be unrighteous in return, unfaithful to his gracious will and promise; our failure to keep covenant with him will but set his faithfulness—or, as Paul calls it, his "righteousness"—in the higher relief.

Only once in the gospels is the phrase "righteousness of God" attributed to our Lord, and in that case it denotes, not an attribute of God, but the righteousness which God requires in men: "Seek first God's kingdom and righteousness," and of the nature and requirements of that true righteousness the Sermon on the Mount—where this phrase occurs—is the exposition. Once also, it may be added, Jesus is said to have spoken of God's wrath. He saw it illustrated in the woes and tribulations which should overtake the Jewish people at the destruction of their sacred city.

Once in the fourth gospel are the words "Holy Father," and once also the words "O righteous Father," heard on the lips of Jesus in prayer. The context makes their meaning clear. First of all, it is evident that it is the righteousness of a Father to which our Lord alludes, and what does he ask the Father in his righteousness to do?

To guard from evil his disciples: "Holy Father, keep them;" and to sustain by his love those who have learned to recognize the Father in the Son: "Righteous Father, these have learned that thou didst send me; they have known thy name through me; keep them by the power of that love wherewith thou lovest me." The righteousness of God is here the basis of an appeal for all his gracious benefits: "In thy righteousness grant to my disciples thy protecting care and paternal love."

Such are some of the biblical representations of the righteousness of God. But we are not dependent upon such allusions and descriptions for our ideas of the subject. There has lived one in our world in whom the righteousness of God was reflected and interpreted—

> In whose life the law appears
> Drawn out in living characters.

Why should we not go directly to Christ and learn from him, who alone knew the Father, what are the moral qualities and dispositions of God? Why not find in his life and life-work the test and measure of the various conceptions of God's righteousness which have obtained in Christian thought and teaching?

Had theology pursued this plan, I cannot help thinking that many conceptions of the subject which have been widely accepted, and many of the inferences which have been derived from these conceptions, would never have become current. How would it fare, for example, with that idea of the righteousness of God which makes it to consist in the sacred honor of a private dignitary who takes offense at sin and must have reparation? Did Jesus represent God in terms of sovereignty and chivalry and codes of honor? Did he conceive God's attitude toward the sinner as that of offended dignity demanding satisfaction, or as that of an enraged creditor clamoring for the settlement of back debts?

Who would not feel the incongruity of attributing to Jesus the conception of God's righteousness as consisting in an unconditional necessity to punish—together with the corollary that this punitive justice is the primary attribute, the most fundamental quality in the character of God? Certain it is that such ideas, which have been so widely influential in Christian theology, were never derived from Jesus in the first instance; to me it seems equally evident that they

cannot be harmonized with his conception and consciousness of God. They are more probably to be explained by the influence of feudalism and of Roman and Germanic law. But these sources yield religious ideas foreign, and often radically contrary, to the Christian faith. It cannot be too urgently insisted that the Christian conception of God is, primarily, Christ's conception.

Nor does the idea of God's righteousness as being primarily retributive, accord better with the apostolic idea of God. We do not read in the Johannine writings: "God is punitive justice, and he who is similarly determined to punish, dwelleth in God and knoweth God." Nor does Paul's description of what is highest in man, because most Godlike, run thus: "Though I speak with tongues, and know all mysteries and have all faith, but have not an uncompromising determination to punish, I am nothing. And now abideth faith, hope, and retributive righteousness—these three, and the greatest of these is retributive righteousness."

But what is the idea of God's righteousness which shines out in the life of Jesus, and how does he illustrate and enforce it? We must find our answer in our Lord's own character which is to us the human transcript and interpretation of the character of God. What attitude did "Jesus Christ, the righteous," take up toward sin and sinners?

It is evident, in the first place, that he keenly discerned and exposed the sins of men and turned upon them the revealing light of holiness and truth. With what a piercing glance did he penetrate to the lurking selfishness in the thoughts of men! He could detect the taint of hypocrisy in the prayers of the self-righteous, the intolerance which often underlay religious zeal, the envy and meanness which sought to cloak themselves in an ostentatious generosity. In the presence of Jesus Christ sin stands exposed in all its heinousness and hatefulness—plain, unmistakable, false, it stands revealed in the white light of his radiant holiness, and because revealed condemned.

Law, righteousness, purity—does he not know and illustrate what these are? They are the very breath of his own inner life. They are enthroned in his every thought. They preside over his every act. Here is one who knows sin as no other ever knew it—

who judges it as God judges. His eye discerns its blighting, soul-destroying power. He sees it black against the pure radiance of the eternal love.

Now, what effect did this vision of sin have upon Christ? Did he turn away in mingled indignation and loathing? Did he summon forthwith the penalties of retributive justice? Did he cry: "Here is an insult to heaven which demands reparation? Here is an infinite evil which calls for an infinite punishment?" On the contrary we find that Jesus displayed toward men, even the worst and wickedest of them, a feeling so singularly fraternal that he has won for himself the peerless title of the Brother of mankind. Despite all this sin which his heart deplored and his purity condemned, his great, holy love yearned for these sinners and refused to despair of winning them.

Here is the divine peculiarity—the strange, transcendent wonder of Christ. To him nothing truly human was alien and the human still lived—even if it only smouldered—in the ashes of a seemingly ruined life. He was one whose righteousness displayed itself, not in fury and penal woes, but in a divine, consuming passion for men's recovery. His holiness did not remove him from other men, but drew him to them and made him one with them. His purity came into our world, not to blast, but to purify. His ideal of Godlikeness was found in service and self-giving. His holiness stoops to conquer, and he knows that even human malignity must, at last, break itself upon his divine patience. His perfection finds its chief expression in ministering, in being servant of all, in giving his life a ransom for many. Jesus knew that in all this he was doing the will and illustrating the nature of God. It was because he knew that he came forth from God and was going again to God, that he took a towel and girded himself for the service of men.

Such was the attitude toward sin and sinners of him who interprets God out of his own intimate and incomparable knowledge and fellowship. Is not his revelation true to the prophetic word: "A righteous God *and a Savior*"? Not, be it observed, a Savior notwithstanding the fact that he is a righteous God, but a God who saves just because he is righteous—who would not be true to himself, who would not be just to his own perfection, if he were not a Savior.

Is it not plain that through Jesus Christ there speaks to us, and to all mankind, a God who answers perfectly the prophet's description: "I that speak *in righteousness, mighty to save*"?

The righteousness of God which Jesus reveals includes, at once, the divine self-assertion or respect and the divine disposition to save. Why should these be separated and contrasted? Each is necessary to the other. If God were indifferent to sin, if he did not repudiate and condemn it, there could be no motive to salvation. Sin would be disregarded, passed over, condoned. But a God who will save must be a righteous God. To him sin is hateful; it is an intruder, a foreign element in his world. Therefore all the resources of the divine wisdom and love must be employed for its eradication. Yes, he who comes forth from God to seek and to save the lost will be, must be, above all things the messenger and representative of the divine righteousness. It has not been sufficiently considered that the very *idea* of a real moral salvation, of a recovery of the lives of men into harmony with God, is possible only because God is essentially holy, and is itself an expression and proof of his righteousness.

Christ brings to men a stern message concerning sin. He will make no compromise with moral evil. His attitude toward it is not that of easy-going good nature. His salvation is from sin *to holiness*. The righteousness of God is satisfied with nothing less than a Godlike life. The all-inclusive requirement is that men become sons of their Father; that is, morally kindred to him in their spirit and action. No requirement could so voice the divine righteousness as this, that salvation is Godlikeness.

Hence salvation is no mere fiat, or decree, or other formality, but recovery from sinning. In order to be saved, sin must be repented of, repudiated, and forgiven. Righteousness demands not merely more correct opinions, however true or important, nor any mere passive acquiescence in some act done on our behalf; such views make salvation too easy. Men are not saved by any mere theory about Christ, his life or his death, but—to use the bold and realistic language of Paul—they are saved by dying to sin with Christ on his cross, being buried with him out of sight of the sinful world and rising with him into the heights of his own holiness. We must repeat the life of Christ in ourselves; take up the cross of service and self-giving

and follow after him; make ourselves at home in his world; learn something in experience of what Paul meant when he said: "For me to live is Christ"—that is a real salvation; that is the righteous life in the eyes of God.

What a manifestation of the righteousness of God is seen in the fact that Jesus consecrated himself in life and in death to procure our actual moral deliverance from evil! It is the whole saving work of Christ in teaching and labor, in suffering and death, which reveals and attests the holiness of God, and the verdict of that holiness upon sin is this, that it can never be forgotten or overlooked, but must be repented of, forsaken, and forgiven.

All that Christ does for men, in teaching, labor, and suffering, is done for them because sin is an evil and accursed thing, separating them from fellowship with God and their own true destiny. And when, to win men from sin to holiness, he enters into deepest sympathy with them, bears their woes upon his compassionate heart, and endures the most bitter griefs and tortures in his anxieties and labors to bring them to God—then those sufferings with and for them become the supreme revelation of his estimate of sin. The cross shows what holy love will do to save men from sin. It is therefore the truest measure of sin's evil and the symbol of God's estimate of it. The blood of Christ seals God's condemnation of sin and proclaims the supremacy of that saving righteousness which will stop at no labor or suffering in order that men may be recovered to harmony with itself.

God condemns sin most of all in the very act of saving men from it. God makes manifest his righteousness in Christ, not by the infliction of penal or quasi-penal suffering, but by his own divine self-sacrifice and passion in consequence of sin. How does a mother make manifest her estimate of the evil of a reprobate son's course of life? By insisting upon his imprisonment? By punishing one of her other children? Or by her deep sympathy and sadness, her prayers and tears, her loving labors and entreaties—by the Gethsemane of her mother's heart?

By his vicarious suffering with and for sinners Christ has condemned sin and exalted righteousness. Would you see what sin is? Look on the cross! See how sin regarded and treated incarnate love.

Would you learn what righteousness is? Look again on the cross! See what holy love will do and suffer to raise men out of the curse of sin into harmony with itself.

Here, for my mind and heart, lies the holy mystery of Christ's cross and passion. Hence the cross is the symbol of the most precious truths of our faith. It summarizes what is central in the saving work of Christ, because it expresses what is supreme in the bosom of eternal Love. God forbid that we should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!

THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

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Professor Davidson was one of the greatest Old Testament scholars of our generation. His *Hebrew Grammar* is the best student's manual in the field. His commentaries on Job, Ezekiel, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah in the *Cambridge Bible* are masterpieces of exposition. His articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, and in numerous theological and critical reviews are epoch-making contributions to the study of the Old Testament. From his classroom have gone out such famous scholars as Robertson Smith, George Adam Smith, Elmslie, Thomson, and Skinner. To his quiet influence is mainly due the general adoption by the Free Church of Scotland of modern critical views in regard to the Old Testament. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that we learned a number of years ago that he had promised to write the volume on Old Testament theology in the *International Theological Library*. We have looked forward eagerly for the appearance of this book, and have anticipated that, when it appeared, it would be the greatest work on the subject in English, or perhaps in any language. When we heard of the author's death in 1902, we were grieved to think that this long-expected volume would probably never be finished; but were presently comforted by the news that the manuscript had been left nearly complete and would soon be published under the able editorship of Principal Salmond. Dr. Salmond has at last completed his arduous labor of love in collecting and editing the notes left by his friend, and the result lies before us in this *Theology of the Old Testament*.[1]

It is a book that one takes up with enthusiastic anticipation of pleasure and profit in reading it, but one lays it down with a keen feeling of disappointment. The material in it may all be Davidson's, but we miss the masterly power of co-ordination that is seen in his earlier writings. Apparently his notes were left in a scattered, fragmentary form, and the editor, who is not an Old Testament critic, was not able to fit them into a consistent

[1] *The Theology of the Old Testament*. By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; edited from the Author's Manuscripts by Principal S. D. F. Salmond. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. xi+553. $2.50, net.

logical framework. Two or three different stages of opinion are frequently placed side by side, like the duplicate narratives in the Old Testament histories. It is no reproach to the editor to say that Davidson himself would probably have put the material into very different form had he lived to complete his task. Posthumous publications are rarely a credit to their authors, and this book adds one more name to the long list of works that one wishes, for the sake of the fame of the departed, had never been published.

Biblical theology is rightly conceived by the author as a purely historical discipline. On page 1 it is defined as "the knowledge of God's great operation in introducing his kingdom among men." On page 2 it is said of God's operation: "It is historical, and it is progressive; it covers a long period, and it advances from less to more, and finally culminates." On page 11 it is said: "Our subject really is the History of the Religion of Israel as represented in the Old Testament." On page 5 the dependence of biblical theology upon criticism and exegesis is recognized. "If it be the presentation to ourselves of the gradual advance of the kingdom of God as exhibited to us in the successive books of Scripture, it is necessary that we should see how these books follow one another, and know the age to which they belong, and of which they reflect the life and the thought. Criticism or Introduction must precede any attempt at a scientific Old Testament Theology." "Obviously, too, Old Testament Theology must be preceded by scientific exegesis of the literature in its length and breadth." On page 12 the organic connection of the religion of Israel with the history of Israel is recognized. "Each step of progress was intimately connected with the people's history—with their experiences. Revelations of this truth or that were not made sporadically, but were given in continuous connection with the national life and experience, and so the truths are interlinked with one another in the same way as the successive stages of evolution in the national history are."

If all this is true, then it is clear that the first duty of the Old Testament theologian is to sift the literature of the Old Testament and arrange the documents in chronological order as a preliminary to writing the history of the nation and of its religion. It is not necessary that he should present us with the entire apparatus of criticism; but he must at least justify his fundamental positions, and show that he has thoroughly investigated the problem of the age of every portion of the Old Testament. This duty Davidson has not fulfilled. He has, indeed, given us, on pages 15–22, a rough sketch of the history of Hebrew literature that shows that he adopts all the main contentions of modern criticism, but this is inadequate as a

preparation for writing a history of the religion of Israel. From the period before the exodus we have, he says, no literature. "What we have is the view of this period taken in the ninth and eighth centuries." To the period between the exodus and 800 B. C. belong the Books of Judges and Samuel, the older documents of the Hexateuch, and the legislation contained in the Book of the Covenant. To the period between 800 and 586 belong the great literary prophets and Deuteronomy. To the period after the exile, from 586–400 B. C., belong Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi, the Priestly Code of the Hexateuch, the Psalter, and much of the Wisdom literature. To the period between 400 B. C. and the close of the canon belong Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and Chronicles.

This classification of the literature is good so far as it goes, but it is inadequate for historical purposes. There must be a far more searching analysis of the literary strata in all the books of the Old Testament before we are ready to say what was the religion of any given period. This Davidson has not given us, and his book shows that he has not made it for himself. On page 61 he argues from the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, "In six days Yahweh made the heavens and the earth," that theoretical monotheism was already the religion of Moses; but the Mosaic authorship of the Decalogue is seriously doubted by many modern critics and cannot, therefore, be assumed without argument; and practically all modern critics are agreed that the reasons annexed to the Decalogue are late additions, and that the reason annexed to the fourth commandment in particular shows knowledge of the post-exilic priestly document in Gen. 1:1—2:4*a*. Here failure to make a precise literary analysis vitiates the entire argument. In like manner, on page 111 the spirituality of the Mosaic conception of God is argued from the prohibition of images in the second commandment. Even granting that the Decalogue in its simplest form may be Mosaic, it is impossible to defend the Mosaic authorship of the second commandment, as we are accustomed to number it. The best men of Israel show no knowledge of it before the time of Hosea; the Book of the Covenant contains no such sweeping prohibition, but forbids only "molten gods," and the number ten of the commandments is complete without it. Here, accordingly, Davidson bases a large conclusion on a very uncertain foundation. The same difficulty runs through the entire book. There is no precise analysis of the historical books, no discrimination of the secondary elements in the prophets, and no effort to disengage the older portions of the poetical books from their later setting; but without this we cannot have a *history* of the Hebrew religion.

After the critical analysis and the dating of the documents of the Old

Testament are completed, the second task of the Old Testament theologian is to divide his subject into periods and to describe the religion of Israel during each period. Davidson recognizes that this is the natural method; nevertheless, without giving any justification of his procedure, he abandons the ordinary historical method and discusses the material under the topical divisions of systematic theology. Accordingly, instead of having as subdivisions the pre-Mosaic period, the Mosaic period, the pre-prophetic period, the prophetic period, etc., as the historical introduction would lead us to expect, we have the doctrine of God, the doctrine of man, the doctrine of redemption, the doctrine of the last things. This is as unnatural as it would be for a church historian to discuss the entire Christology or soteriology of the church at one time. The theology of every generation is merely a logical unfolding of its idea of God; and when the idea of God changes, all the other doctrines of religion change with it. The only natural method of writing a history of theology, therefore, is to take the idea of God in each successive period and show how the other beliefs of the period grew out of it; then proceed to show how a new idea of God came into being in the next period, and how it affected the other beliefs. The reason why Davidson departed from this natural method of treating his subject was evidently his lack of definite opinions in regard to the dates of large portions of the Old Testament. He was too uncertain of his sources to feel himself able to give a precise account of the religion of Israel in the successive periods of its development; and, therefore, he chose a topical rather than an historical subdivision of his material. By this means he sought to escape the necessity of pronouncing judgment upon the age of doubtful books. It seems strange that he should have felt this timidity. Holding the advanced views that he did in regard to the Hexateuch, Deutero-Isaiah, and Daniel, he had a sufficient basis for an historical treatment of his subject, even if he left out of account certain books whose age seemed doubtful. It is surprising also that he should have remained in doubt on so many points, when he was able to follow modern criticism so far.

The dogmatic division of the material would not be a fatal defect, if the historical method were carried through rigorously in each subdivision; if, for instance, we had a complete account of the ideas of God that were held by Israel in the different periods of its national existence. Davidson, however, is too uncertain in his dating of the literature to attempt even this task. In not one instance does he give us a true history of the doctrine under discussion. He gives us rather a composite photograph of the doctrines of different men and different ages. In other words, he gives up the historical method that he stated at the outset to be characteristic of

biblical theology and adopts the dogmatic method. The very titles of his chapters, such as "General Character of the Old Testament Conception of God," show how completely he has adopted the dogmatic point of view. Historically there is no such thing as an Old Testament conception of God any more than there is such a thing as a biblical conception of God. What we really find is a multitude of different ideas about God that have been held by different men at different periods of the history. The Yahwist's idea of a God who formed men by hand out of clay and made them live by breathing his own breath into them, who walked in the garden to enjoy the cool evening breeze, who was jealous lest men should attain a wisdom like his own, and who confused their languages in order that they might not build a tower that should reach up to his abode, has little or nothing in common with the idea of God held by a Deutero-Isaiah. To try to roll these discordant theologies together into an "Old Testament conception of God" is as absurd as to try to combine the ecclesiologies of Christendom into a Christian doctrine of the church.

This whole method of treating the subject is an outgrowth of a bygone conception of the Bible as a homogeneous whole, uniformly inspired, and equally profitable for doctrine in all portions. It is not the method of biblical theology, but of that antique theological discipline, biblical dogmatics, which aims to gather the raw material for systematic theology by pigeon-holing all the usable texts on a given subject and ignoring the texts that it cannot fit into its doctrinal framework. That so great a scholar as Davidson should still follow this method is a striking evidence of the power of early training. In spite of all the concessions that he was forced to make to the newer scholarship, Davidson was still essentially a man of the old school. Like Delitzsch, he had learned much from the younger generation, but the new ideas came too late to become an integral part of his thought. He still lived in the realm of the old Protestant dogmatic rather than in the realm of the new inductive science. His sections on the knowability of God, the essence and the attributes of God, the personality and spirituality of God, the spirit of God, read like extracts from an old-fashioned handbook of dogmatics, and we wonder as we read them what all this has to do with Old Testament theology. One is tempted sometimes to think that old sermons of the author have been utilized by the editor to fill up gaps in his manuscript, so much is said about the teaching of "Scripture," and there are so many quotations from the New Testament.

The result of the adoption of the dogmatic method is to lose sight of the fact of development in the religion of Israel. Davidson was too old a man to be influenced by modern natural science and to have the idea of evolu-

tion as the background of all his thinking. Although he states in his introduction that the function of biblical theology is to exhibit the development of the religion of Israel, the continual contention of the body of the book is that there was no development. Such a statement as that on page 180, "The doctrine of Jehovah receives few developments during the course of the Old Testament period," is astounding from a modern point of view. On page 96 he solemnly discusses the question whether monotheism or polytheism came first in history, and reaches the conclusion: "The question probably cannot be answered with certainty, either on Semitic or on Indo-Germanic data." To the modern mind this seems very much like asking which comes first, childhood or manhood, and deciding that it cannot be determined. If Indo-Germanic philology teaches us anything, it is that the gods were originally active powers of nature, and that they became great gods in consequence of a loss of understanding of the primitive meaning of their names and a tendency to attach other active powers to them as attributes. If anything is clear in the field of primitive Semitic religion, it is that a multitude of Baalim were the original objects of worship.

On the whole, Davidson seems to lean to the idea that the primitive religion of mankind was monotheism, which was preserved only among the Hebrews, while other nations developed polytheism; for he represents the religion of the patriarchs as having been substantially the same as that of Moses and the prophets. The statement of Exod. 6:2, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I was not known unto them," he interprets in the antique traditional manner as meaning that the name Yahweh was known to the patriarchs, but that its full religious significance was not yet comprehended by them. This is a most unnatural exegesis, and is contradicted by the fact that both P and E refrain from using the name Yahweh in patriarchal history, showing that they regarded it as non-existent. P even refrains from giving proper names compounded with Yahweh before the Mosaic age. It is surprising that Davidson, who accepts the critical analysis of Genesis, which finds a starting-point in this verse, should still adhere to this impossible harmonistic exegesis. Holding that the name Yahweh was known to the patriarchs, he holds also that all the main doctrines of the Mosaic religion concerning Yahweh were known to them. On page 84 he says: "These stages in the development of the knowledge of God in Israel may be detected: *first*, the primeval Shemitic religion, in which each family had its particular god, whom it worshiped, if not in images, at least in connection with sensuous forms, as groves, trees, pillars. *Second*, a very important development from this primitive Shemitic religion which took

place at a far back period toward a high morality and faith in a spiritual omnipotent God. This development we know as the call of Abraham and the foundation of the Patriarchal religion." On page 97 he says: "Now, if we suppose that the condition of the idea of God among the Shemitic peoples prior to the call of Abraham, or even after his call, was this, that He was a personal power, there are materials in it for that profound religious experience which we know to have been his. The power may easily rise to omnipotence; the personality may easily pass into spirituality, and the union of these two easily into unity." On page 98 he remarks: "It is certain that through God's revealing of himself to Abraham a great purification and elevation took place in his conception of God. The fundamental thought of God did not alter, but it was more firmly grasped and sharply conceived, and probably carried to such a degree of clearness as to involve, if not the spirituality, at least the unity of God." Elsewhere he says that the work of Moses was merely to bring back to full luminousness the lofty idea of God of the patriarchal period that had almost been lost to view.

One wonders how he knows all this about the lofty character of the patriarchal religion. He has told us previously, on page 16, that we have no literature from the patriarchal period itself. "What we have is the view of this period taken in the ninth and eighth centuries." But if we have no contemporary records, and have only national traditions that were committed to writing fifteen hundred years after the times of the patriarchs, we surely cannot hope to derive from these any historical account of the religion of the patriarchs. Criticism has clearly established the fact that the stories of the patriarchs are reminiscences of tribal migrations and tribal alliances, partly of the nomadic Hebrews, partly of the aboriginal Canaanites, and partly of the tribes of Israel at the time of the invasion and occupation of Canaan. The religion that they reflect is not the religion of the patriarchs, but the religion of Israel at the time when they were written. From them it is a hopeless task to try to reconstruct the biographies and religious experiences of individual forefathers called Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, even if such persons existed as founders of the clans which bore their names. The only method by which the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel can be discovered is by a comparison of the early religion of Israel with other Semitic religions, particularly with the religion of the Bedawin Arabs before Mohammed. Those features which are common to the early religion of Israel and to other early Semitic religions may safely be assumed to have been beliefs of the forefathers of Israel. This method, which is the only scientific one, leads to very different conclusions in regard

to the patriarchal religion from those reached by Davidson. Instead of that religion having been quite as high as the religion of Moses or of the early prophets, we learn that it must have been much the same as that of the other early Semites. On page 176, speaking of the stories of Genesis about Jacob and Esau, Laban, Moab, and Ammon, he says: "Most modern writers regard all this as just the actual situation which history brought about reflected back upon a much earlier time. Jacob and Esau were never children; they are brothers, because kindred peoples. . . . How much truth there may be in these representations I do not stop here to discuss." But this is just the problem that the historian is bound to discuss. If the conception of "most modern writers" be correct, then Davidson must treat the religion of the patriarchal period in a different fashion. In any case, he must not leave such a fundamental problem as this an open one. When on page 110 we read, "Even in Abraham's history God is attached to places. Jacob found him at Bethel—and said, 'Surely God is in this place,'" we feel as if we were reading the work of a theologian of a hundred years ago.

Having assumed that Abraham believed in one spiritual God, Davidson cannot assume less for Moses. He admits (page 59) that the first commandment, "I Yahweh am thy God; thou shalt have no other gods in my presence," does not affirm the sole deity of Yahweh, but only that he is the only god that Israel may worship; but he denies that we may infer from this that the pre-prophetic religion of Israel was monolatry rather than monotheism. On page 60 he remarks: "The laws are all cast into the form of particular prohibitions. But who can doubt that the comprehensive mind which ministered to Israel those profound abstractions concerning purity, and regard for life and truth, and respect for property, perceived that they expressed the fundamental principles of human society? And is it supposable that with such an insight into morality he stood on so low a platform in religion as to rise no higher than national particularism?" This contention he seeks to support by appeal to the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, but this is certainly a late interpolation in the Decalogue. The language of Exod. 15:11, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Yahweh," and numerous similar expressions in early literature, he explains away as an adoption of the language of the common people by men who knew better. On page 64 he says: "David, who was certainly (?) a monotheist, uses similar phraseology when he identifies being banished from the land of Israel with serving other gods (1 Sam. xxvi. 19)." On page 93 he says that the language of Jephthah in Judg. 11:23 f. does not show that he believed that Chemosh had any real existence.

On the very insecure foundation of the second commandment he assumes that visible representations of Yahweh were forbidden by Moses. All the numerous cases of contrary practice in the early history he explains as due to national defection from the pure teaching of Moses, but he fails to account for the facts that there is no parallel to the second commandment in the early legislation; that the best men of the nation, such as Gideon and David, show no knowledge of it; and that there is no polemic against images before the literary prophets.

The only difference between the pre-prophetic and the prophetic religion that Davidson will allow, is that there is a more "abstract formulation" of doctrines in the prophetic period. In his hands the prophets lose their originality, and their function is merely that of the modern preacher—to call men back to a revelation already given.

In these points we see the fundamental defect of the book. It has no feeling for that growth which Christ declared to be the law of the Kingdom of God—"first the blade, then the ear, and afterwards the full corn in the ear." Such a development Davidson is unable to see in the religion of Israel, and because he cannot see it he misses the very life of the Old Testament. There are many fine discussions of particular problems, and many brilliant individual passages that one would like to quote; but there is no history of the religion of Israel. This book will be useful to the weak brethren who are afraid to venture far out on the waters of criticism, and will be useful to the preacher who wishes to gather up the teachings of the Old Testament on any given point; but it will be of little value to the student who is trained in modern historical methods. There are half a dozen better theologies of the Old Testament in German; and in English, Schultz, Piepenbring, and the article by Kautzsch on the "Religion of Israel" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, are much to be preferred.

FAITH ACCORDING TO PAUL

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The gospel of Paul is a gospel of redemption. The cross, as the consummate expression of God's reconciling love, is the central pillar around which the structure of the apostle's thought is built. There is a sense in which we may speak of a "finished work" of Christ, a reconciliation once for all achieved and not merely in process of achievement. As Professor Denney remarks in his able study of *The Death of Christ:*

> The work of reconciliation is not a work wrought upon the souls of men, though it is a work wrought in their interests, and bearing so directly upon them that we can say that God has reconciled the world to himself; it is a work—as Cromwell said of the covenant—*outside of us*, in which God so deals in Christ with the sin of the world that it shall no longer be a barrier between himself and men.[1]

Admitting a certain relative validity in this view of the matter, reflection compels us to the conclusion that it is abstract and unreal of itself, a fragmentary and partial aspect of a larger and more adequate mode of apprehension.

The truth is, redemption is liable to lead to all kinds of unsubstantial theological notions, when taken out of the region of spiritual experience. The atonement is not atonement until it finds a response and consummation in the heart and conscience of man. The divine transaction achieved without us hangs in the air, unrealized and unintelligible, until it has become a process of our spiritual experience. "So long as Christ is outside of us," says Calvin, "and we are separated from him, whatever he has suffered and done for humanity is useless and without significance for us." Hence Paul, unlike some of his scholastic interpreters, labors to hold in an indissoluble unity the subjective and objective elements in the atoning process, and thereby to reflect in thought spiritual reality as it is. Now, the sub-

[1] P. 145.

jective element, with which alone this paper is concerned, is faith. It is by faith that we assimilate and consummate Christ's redemptive work. It is by faith that the great moments of his atoning history find, as it were, an echo, a response, in the self-denial, the crucifixion, the spiritual mortification which are the marks of the Christian life.

Central as is the position which faith occupies in Paul's theology, it involved a conception too rich and spiritually complex to receive adequate recognition in later ecclesiastical doctrine. Partly through the incursion of Greek philosophy, especially as seen in the work of the Apologists, who were prone to think of Christianity as a philosophy resting on revelation, and of revelation as a formulated doctrinal system; partly through the various secularizing influences of pagan custom and cultus on the belief and worship of the church, faith was stripped of its lofty spiritual predicates until, as in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, it becomes a purely intellectual act, an assent of the will to a dogmatic system imposed by an external authority. If, then, we would understand what the apostle has to say to us, we must go behind the dogmatic systems to the original sources, and try to gather into one the scattered reflections that bear upon the question.

Paul nowhere defines faith, but his doctrine, generally considered, resembles that of the Jewish Alexandrian school, which held it to be "the queen of virtues," "the only and undeceiving good, the consolation of life, the possession of happiness," and which made it consist of an assured conviction higher than that produced by sense or reason. But it is not to Philo that he owes his doctrine. It may be doubted whether he ever read one of the great Alexandrian's books. Not even from the book of which he was master, the Old Testament, did he derive his splendid conception. No doubt he found the word πίστις in his Greek Bible, but with what ethical power, emotional passion, and mystical rapture has he changed it, at once transforming and transfiguring the thought that it expresses! Nowhere is his spiritual creativeness more apparent than here. He takes this word and makes it the vehicle at once of advanced knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) that grasps by a mental act unseen realities, of emotional energy that works by love, of moral intuition that sees in the hardest duty its sovereign obligation. The originality of his doctrine is as unquestionable as its breadth and inwardness.

We may pass by the secondary and looser applications of the word and fasten on the meaning which touches the highest reaches of the apostle's thinking. The essence of faith is absolute trust in, enthusiastic loyalty and devotion of heart to, Jesus as the Messiah and Son of God. There is a formal difference between our Lord's teaching here and that of his great disciple. For the Master, faith means absolute trust in God's fatherly goodness, whereby a man rises above all outward and inward impediments and achieves dominion over the forces of evil.[2] For the apostle, faith in God was synonymous with faith in Christ. It was Christ who made faith in the divine fatherhood possible and evoked it in the hearts of men. The ultimate object of faith, and the organ or instrument by which faith was aroused, became identified in Paul's thought, so that he could speak indifferently of faith having for its object the God "who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead,"[3] or Christ in his character as Savior dying for man,[4] or simply the resurrection of Christ, because that event was the divine imprimatur on his work and the strongest proof that he who died upon the cross preserved through death his divine sonship.[5] How remote all this is from the later ecclesiastical notion, set forth anew in our time in the writings of Cardinal Newman, that the correlative of faith is dogma as attested by divine authority, and communicated to the world by means of an official hierarchy. Submission of the intellect to authority misses the very nerve of Paul's teaching, which in its highest form always emphasizes passionate self-surrender to a person. Nor again does the apostle give any countenance to the idea of modern evangelism—a survival of seventeenth-century scholasticism—which robs faith of all moral content and reduces it to the conviction that Christ died for our sins and underwent the doom of guilt in our room and stead. How could he deny to faith all moral value and at the same time contend that it is the root of all genuine morality? If faith is not the meritorious cause of divine forgiveness, it is for the apostle its ethical *sine qua non*, and as such must be morally excellent. It is no "bare hand laying hold of Christ," no assent to a proposition in divinity, but a moral self-committal, a whole-hearted submission to the claims of a Higher and a Holier.

[2] Matt. 17:20; Mark 9:23; Luke 17:6.

[3] Rom. 4:24. [4] Gal. 2:20. [5] 1 Cor. 15:14 f.

It is this faith that brings the Christian inside the region where may be enjoyed the privileges and rights created by the work of Christ. As a member of the community of which the Crucified One is Lord, he obtains a share in the righteousness which belongs to the community as a whole. This righteousness is reckoned or imparted to the individual, because first reckoned or imparted to the church. As is well known, we owe to the genius of Albrecht Ritschl the resurrection of this forgotten thought, which forms a counterpoise to the one-sided individualism that characterized the Reformation teaching. "The forgiveness of sins," he remarks, "as the fundamental condition of the Christian community is appropriated by the individual within the community."[6] Just as the old covenant is between God and Israel as a nation, a community, so the new covenant is between God and the society of believers gathered out of the world. Ideally and historically the church is prior to the individual believer: it is through its message and its discipline that men realize the forgiveness of sins. Faith is the act of the individual by which the divine deed of forgiveness or justification becomes in his case realized. Hence faith is said to justify.

"Justification by faith" was a hard saying to the men of Paul's day; it is no less hard to the modern mind; for it seems to represent God as indifferent to conduct, as substituting a state or act of mind for the result of a life of virtuous acts. But in reality it is because conduct is of such vital importance before God that the apostle, feeling his utter inability to stand the scrutiny of the divine eye as it searches through and through his moral achievements, is driven from the ground of doing to some other on which he can be reconciled to God. That other is faith. By faith a man is justified; that is, his sin is treated as non-existent. As Ritschl says: "God justifies not by an 'analytic' but by a 'synthetic' judgment." The justifying act gives sinful men the right to enter into communion with God and to become citizens of his kingdom in spite of their consciousness of guilt. And the subjective appropriation of this act is expressed by the word "faith." Hence Paul saw in faith the best guarantee of ethical interests. As long as he stood on the ground of merit, his relations

[6] *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, sec. 38; cf. *Justification and Reconciliation* (English translation), p. 108–14. Ritschl cites as proof-texts, Rom. 8:32; 3:22; Eph. 5:25; Titus 2:14.

with God could never be other than those of debtor and creditor, and his morality was doomed to take its color from those relations; to be, therefore, cold, calculating, scrupulous, mechanical. What he hungered for was immediateness of access to God, the release of some overwhelming emotion that should sweep off and away doubts, fears, peccancies, petty anxieties, and overstrained scrupulosities, and make obedience the glad homage of his heart to its rightful Lord. This he found in faith. Faith is neither a substitute for conduct, nor an arbitrary condition of Christian living—mistakes into which a crude theology falls—but simply the latent instinct of sonship awakened by Christ to self-consciousness.

> It is the disclosure to the self of its own vital secret; it is the thrill of our inherent childhood, as it makes itself felt within the central recesses of the life; it is the flame which shoots into consciousness at the recognition of the touch of our divine fatherhood.[7]

But we have not yet compassed the wealth of the Pauline conception. Faith, which incorporates the Christian into the justified community, at the same time incorporates him in Christ, the Head and Lord of the community as the vital element in which henceforth he lives and moves and has his being. Hence the apostle uses language which describes a spiritual union of the closest kind—a fusion, as it were, of two personalities, the human and the divine. When we strip his thought of metaphor, what he means is that faith in Christ implies identification of our will with Christ's will. He can say: "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me."[8] "To me to live is Christ."[9] And his favorite formula is: "in Christ" or "in Christ Jesus." To most men, impoverished as they are in moral imagination, such words sound unreal, the expression of an overstrained emotionalism. The average man, when he comes across such sayings, recalls the remark of Huxley that "Paul was a queer person," and deems this judgment a sufficient explanation. And yet the apostle's doctrine is only the effort to formulate his own experience. From that consecrated hour when God revealed his Son in him, he was conscious of such an absorbing devotion; of such a transport of joy and love, that Christ filled his whole horizon; constituted, so to say, his universe. His "only hate" had been suddenly transformed into his "only love,"

[7] H. S. Holland in *Lux Mundi*, p. 15. [8] Gal. 2:20. [9] Phil. 1:21.

and, in virtue of the mighty reaction then experienced, he scaled grander heights of spiritual emotion than was possible to men whose transition to the new faith had been normal and gradual. So close was this union with Christ that the great redemptive deeds of the Savior were reproduced as inward events of his own soul. Did Christ die? Then by faith Paul died ethically to his old order of life. Did Christ rise again? Then Paul rose in him to a new mode of existence.

Christ's death and resurrection are in themselves bare external facts of history; but as soon as they are seen to symbolize a great law —the law, namely, that man must die to his old natural *ego* that he may live in his higher and better self—they are clothed with spiritual power, and are revealed as present and potent factors in the redemption of humanity. It is true, indeed, that Christ's death and resurrection are for the apostle outward physical events, and that the death and resurrection to which the Christian is called are ethical and inward. Yet faith laying hold of Christ finds in every crisis of his earthly history a type or parable of the spiritual life. If he so loved man as to identify himself with all man's sin and misery, to live man's life and die man's death, it follows that the believing man will yearn to identify himself inwardly with Christ in the critical moments of his redeeming work. Love cannot tolerate the evil that has flung its shadow on the loved. Within its deepest life it will rear a bloody cross, and there slay and cast out the flesh with its affections and lusts, if only it may gain an utter oneness with the Crucified. For a fresh and vivid appreciation of this side of Paul's theology we are indebted to men whose point of view is by no means that of orthodoxy.[10] Yet it is hard to make Paul speak the language of Hegel. Says the master of Balliol:

> In the death of Christ, as seen in the light of his resurrection, St. Paul found a kind of illustrated epitome, a condensed picture, which showed as by a flash of lightning the principle and meaning of the whole divinely appointed order of the world. The simple intuition of Jesus that "he who would save his life must lose it" was, in the first place, projected into the form of an outward event, as the history of a Messiah who died to rise again; and then, in the second place, it was reinterpreted, as the great moral law of the

[10] T. H. Green, *Works*, Vol. III, p. 230; E. Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 198–203; O. Pfleiderer, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 53–60.

life of man. It is true, there was some loss in this process, which first externalized the law of life as a great divine tragedy, from which the same law in its deeper spiritual sense was afterward gathered as an influence.[11]

Paul, then, it would appear, has obscured the truth which modern philosophy would emphasize, that the idea of dying to sin and rising again to righteousness, while it had its historic framework in the story of Christ's work, yet is itself quite separable from that story, and is independently and universally valid. But, in the first place, Paul did not create the belief that Christ died for the sins of men and rose again; he shared it with the primitive community. Did, then, the early disciples create the idea? Or must we not say that they lean on the teaching of Christ himself that his death was in some sense a "ransom" for the souls of men; that it was not merely an illustration of the maxim "Die to live," but the basis of a new relation between God and man? And, in the second place, we must insist that the peculiar glory of Christianity is not that it introduced a moral idea before unknown, but that it gifted the soul with power to realize ideas which it already acknowledged. Men knew well that they ought to die to the lower life and rise to the higher; but they were unable to translate the idea into fact. Four centuries before Christ's day a Greek poet voiced this bitter truth:

> Oft have I lain awake at night and thought
> Whence came the evils of this mortal life.
> And my creed is that not thro' lack of wit
> Men go astray, for most of them have sense
> Sufficient, but that we must look elsewhere.
> Discourse of reason tells us what is right,
> But we fall short in action.[12]

"We fall short in action!" Such is the melancholy cry. The great moral idea was but a picture painted in the clouds. In Christ it took to itself hands and feet, entered human history, and planted itself amid the realities of the world's life. All through the Christian centuries men have felt, with whatever intellectual crudeness, with whatever poverty of expression, that in Christ's death their old selfish life has been killed, that in "the power of his resurrection" they have been enabled to live a new life. In other words, his death has been

[11] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 200.

[12] Euripides, *Hippolytus*. (G. Smith's translation.)

in them the producing cause of a sense of reconciliation with God; that is, to recur to the metaphor, an ethical death to the old life, and an ethical resurrection to the new. As Harnack remarks:

> Christianity is the religion of redemption, because it is the religion of forgiveness. . . . . The deepest and most earnest Christians embrace Jesus Christ, not only as Prophet, but as Reconciler.[13]

If we are, then, to take the Christian consciousness as our guide, Paul must be acquitted of the charge of misunderstanding the meaning of Christ's death and its relation to faith. Rather must we say that he seeks to set that meaning in the clear light of a coherent doctrine of man's spiritual nature—that nature which through sin has fallen into a miserable dualism, but which through faith in Christ as Redeemer recovers the aboriginal principle of spiritual unity.

[13] Essay in *Atonement and Religious Thought*, p. 124.

Current Opinion

Must All Revivals be Musical?

Current literature is full of the accounts of the Welsh revival. It has been studied by newspaper men, preachers, and W. T. Stead. It is certainly to be counted as the work of the Holy Spirit. Just as truly, however, it is also the work of the Welsh temperament. So far as we can judge from all reports, it lacks intellectual elements and is largely emotional. In certain particulars the conduct of those in various meetings is not unlike that at which Paul hints in his description of the "gift of tongues." A speaker is interrupted by an outburst of song or by the announcement that someone has been saved. All are urged to be led wholly by the Spirit, but it is just as truly a revival of song. Such an expression of religious enthusiasm would never be expected anywhere except among people of the Welsh temperament. Certainly it would not be expected in America.

For this, if for no other reason, the revival is not typical. Yet it is normal in that it discloses a great law: Religious experience and the influence of God's spirit are conditioned by the mental and social peculiarities of a community. A man does not need to be musical to become a Christian. The Holy Spirit is just as truly present among men who cannot burst out into singing, and who prefer to devote themselves to Christian thought or social service, as he is among the exuberantly musical Welsh. Religious revivals need not be all alike any more than human beings need be all alike. In our thankfulness over the great movement in Wales, we ought not to forget this very elemental fact. There is danger that some of us may have such hard and fast ideals for a revival that we may not know one even when it is upon us.

Recognizing the Atmospheric Conditions of the Gospel

Professor Bernhard Weiss has been teaching for fifty years. He began his career with a lecture on "The Relation of Exegesis to Biblical Theology." He closes his academic year of jubilee with a volume upon *The Religion of the New Testament.* It is an interesting illustration of the adjustment of biblical theology to the demands of dogmatic. Its value as a whole is, of course, great, but there is in his discussion of the Scripture one statement which is especially significant: "The New Testament writers share the same general world of thought prevalent in their times; and must do so; for they would not have been understood by their contemporaries for

whom they wrote, if they had had different ideas from their readers on matters of geography, history, or the phenomena of nature." This statement should become an exegetical obsession. The curse of much of current theology is that it utterly ignores the historical atmosphere through which New Testament truth is to be seen; or, to change the figure, it would make the truth of the gospel walk among men in the dress it wore in the time of Jesus and Paul. No wonder it seems anachronistic to everybody except people who are themselves anachronisms.

Can We Save "the People"?

Dr. William Henry Burns has just written a little book on *The Higher Critic's Bible or God's Bible.* Its character can be guessed from its title. The book is not important enough in itself to require much attention, but it emphasizes an opinion which has become a chief weapon of defense for those who do not want to accept the results of current biblical scholarship; viz.: the hope of the church lies in the common people. Dr. Burns says the common people "are to be trusted today. They want neither a priestly hierarchy nor a scholarly oligarchy to take charge of biblical interpretation; nor will they be content to wait until German experts shall have decided as to the origin of the Pentateuch before they report on the Ten Commandments; or wait to hear the latest views of the German Kaiser before they accept the Bible as a Divine Revelation." Why should they? Certainly no person representing the critical school wants them to. As a matter of fact, it is the traditional school that insists that the authenticity of portions of the Scripture be fixed before they can be believed. The great difficulty in today's theological world is that its "people" means simply the members of the *bourgeois* class; i. e., those well-to-do or semi-well-to-do members of society whose interests are not those of laboring-men. They do not constitute "the people" as a whole. On both sides of the church membership there is rapidly developing a group of men who intelligently or unintelligently are in sympathy with such views as those which Haeckel champions. It is idle to attempt to get these men, whether found among the professional class or among the labor unions, to listen to any teaching which demands at the outset a surrender to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. They can be reached only by those in whose scientific knowledge and undogmatic temper they have confidence. And they will not be stampeded into reactionary conservatism by hearing a view called German. The situation is serious. It is time that Christian scholars stopped their internecine warfare and united against the common enemy—materialism, commercialism, and sensuous pleasure. A human soul is worth more than a theory of inspiration.

WARKA, THE RUINS OF ERECH (GEN. 10:10)

Warka is the largest of all the Babylonian ruins. Not only on account of its size is it interesting; it figures in the great Babylonian epic as the scene where Izdubar and Ea-bani killed the bull sent by the goddess Ishtar to destroy them; there the goddess herself lived; and, according to Gen. 10:10, it was one of the cities which were the beginning of the kingdom of the mighty hunter, Nimrod.

Originally the city was on the Euphrates; for we are told that, after the bull was killed, Izdubar and his companion washed their hands in its waters. Now the river is an hour away to the west. The nearest modern Arab town is Samana, not far from the point where the Hindieh canal returns to the Euphrates; the nearest Arab settlement is Huther, or Khidhr, the seat of a mudir.

At daylight, December 2, we left the small bitumen boat in which we had floated down the stream from Samana, and searched among the mud huts of Huther for the residence of the mudir. As this official was still in bed, the soldier at the door ushered us into a small, dark hole, which was the reception room and the official headquarters. Here we were content to wait and escape from the drizzling rain in which we had been sleeping. When the mudir appeared, I presented him with a letter of introduction, and asked him to provide me with an escort and guide to Warka. As a result of the hard rains, the Euphrates had overflowed its banks and converted the country far inland into a swamp. To reach Warka a detour of several hours would therefore be necessary, and we accepted the mudir's suggestion to float down the river to Derajieh, a place from which both Warka and Senkereh could be visited. The suggestion was a happy one both for the mudir and for us; it saved him the trouble of providing us with horses, and it gave us an opportunity to see Ajil, the sheik of the El-Budour, who was at war with Saadun, and the field upon which the fiercest Arab battle of the year had been fought.

Three hours later we were at Derajieh, a small village of mud huts built along the telegraph line. Sheik Ajil, a hard-faced old man, read the letter which we brought him, and received us pleasantly enough, but assured us that on account of the recent troubles he could not entertain us in his guest-house nor provide us with food. The real excuse he was

ashamed to give; he belongs to the Shiite branch of Mohammedanism, and contact with us would be pollution. Ajil, to whatever extent our presence might be pollution, could see no pollution in what he called Frank money, and he promptly demanded 50 cents for the boy whom he would send for our horses. The price for each animal was 80 cents a day in advance—an exorbitant sum for the desert; but we were obliged to yield, and were assured that the horses would be ready at sunrise. It was long after sunrise the next morning when the sheik entered the telegraph office to announce that he had just sent a boy to a neighboring encampment for them. It was evident that he had no intention of keeping his contract, and we obliged him to listen for a few moments to language hardly compatible with his dignity as sheik. The language was effective, for he quickly disappeared and as quickly returned, not only with the horses, but with his own big, black eunuch as a guide.

Our road to Warka, three hours away, led over the grassy plain, which was dotted here and there with groups of black tents and immense herds of donkeys. Ahmed suggested that none but the donkey could thrive on Ajil's land. Long before we reached the mound, the surface of the plain was strewn with potsherds, and an occasional stone saw or marble vase fragment showed that at no late age the city extended far beyond its walls. The walls, now represented by a long, low ridge, in places twenty feet high (Loftus says fifty), may still be traced; a wide break near the center of the eastern ridge seems to indicate the point where the Shatt en Nil left the city. The mound itself is a quarter of a mile beyond the walls.

Like Tel Ibrahim, the main ruin at Warka is crescent-shaped, and the high, conical hill, from the summit of which the temple protrudes, represents the star within the crescent. Like Bismya and Nippur, the ruins are divided by the wide bed of a canal into two unequal parts. The southern part is the smaller and the lower, but it is fully twelve meters in height; its surface is entirely covered with bricks of a late, probably Parthian, period. On one of its hills, Wuswas, the ruins of a house with an arched doorway appears above the dirt. The corners and doorway of another structure are decorated with large, round brick columns, a meter in diameter, and with square and semi-circular niches along its front wall. This is the large building which Loftus excavated in 1853. The square bricks used in its construction are laid in white mortar. This part of the ruin abounds in fragments of blue glazed slipper-shaped coffins, which have given the false impression that Warka was the ancient necropolis of Babylonia, as Nejef is of the Shiite world today. Glazed pottery fragments, square stone balls for slings, and copper coins corroded beyond recognition, frequently appear on the surface.

North of the canal bed are the larger and higher parts of the ruin which, like the southern part, are so thickly covered with the foundations of late buildings that it is difficult to form an opinion of what is concealed below. By far the most interesting and the highest hill of all is the ruin of the Ziggurat of the temple E-anna, the abode of the goddess Ishtar. The hill is called Buweriye. The Ziggurat was built up in courses, each of which measures a meter and a half in thickness, and they are separated from each other by reed mats or *hassir*. Each course consists of four layers of small mud brick, or *libbin*, laid flatwise. Above them are four more layers, in which the bricks are placed upon edge, and then again are four layers of bricks laid flatwise. Above all this, several thicknesses of *hassir* were spread to receive the next course above. Six such courses, representing a height of nine meters, are now visible above the débris about the base of the hill. In the Ziggurats at Ur and Akerkuf the method of construction is similar, and like them the Warka Ziggurat was undoubtedly incased with burned bricks.

Traces of the excavations carried on by the early English explorer Loftus still exist about the base of the temple hill. Fragments of inscribed bricks—one with a stamped inscription of three long lines, another with at least ten short lines, but illegible—abound. I found on the surface near the temple about twenty clay phallic symbols, all uninscribed, and varying in length from seven to fifteen centimeters. One was square and tapered to a point; others were almost identical in shape and size with a piece of chalk or blackboard crayon. Loftus says they were used in mural decorations, but now no trace of the wall in which he found similar ones is visible above ground.

The variety of bricks on the surface at Warka is unusual. Some are square, with one, three, or five lines drawn across the face; others are stamped on the face with a small triangle. Large, plain bricks, measuring 42x42x7 centimeters; half bricks, 30x18.5x8; bricks slightly plano-convex 30x18.5x4, with three thumb-marks on the face; and finally a very small brick, 20.5x11x5, bearing on the face three small holes made by the end of a round stick, are among the varieties. Nowhere on the surface did I see the small, plano-convex bricks which are the surest indication of the earliest Babylonian times; yet they surely exist deep in the ruins.

Warka is an immense ruin, more than a mile in length; Loftus says it is six miles in circumference. It is as high as Niffer and larger. To excavate it thoroughly would be an enormous task. Before the remains of the earliest periods could be found, large quantities of the accumulations of later ages must be removed, but the indications on the surface are that

the labor would be richly repaid. Probably no ruin in Babylonia conceals a greater number of antiquities of every variety and age. The ruin is public land; no sacred tomb or modern cemetery exists there; water may be easily obtained, and the place is accessible. Apart from its size, the greatest difficulty with which the excavator would meet is the hostility of the neighboring El-Budour Arabs; but in the desert, as elsewhere, money is all-powerful, or, as I overheard Sheik Ajil say to one of his men, "Frank *mejidiehs* are as good as any."

A mile to the north of the ruin, possibly opposite one of the ancient gates, is a clay hill, conical in shape, and rising fifteen meters above the level of the desert. A little farther to the north is a similar hill, but still larger; and three others are visible in the distance. How high these artificial hills originally were, or what was their purpose, unless they were watchtowers outside the city, it would be difficult to say. Few fragments of pottery were scattered about them, and no *libbin;* nothing but unmixed mud seems to have been used in their construction.

We spent several hours at the ruin, ate luncheon on the summit of the temple, and in the late afternoon galloped back over the plain, chasing each other with imaginary spears in the Arabic fashion of mimic warfare—a sort of game resembling tag on horseback. On the way the big eunuch, whose horse could not equal mine in speed, became communicative and, handing me his gun, a modern Mauser rifle, explained with many motions how in a recent battle he had killed and robbed one of the Montifik. Nearing the village, he called me aside to a clump of bushes, pointed to a skull and bones from which the flesh had just been gnawed, and then, pointing to his gun, gave a hearty laugh. A number of Arabs killed in the recent battle lay unburied about the village.

We reached Derajieh at sunset. During the evening the telegraph operator beguiled the time by relating his troubles. We went to bed—if lying rolled up in a blanket on the ground can be called going to bed—to dream of Senkereh, the ruin which we hoped to visit in the morning.

EDGAR JAMES BANKS.

BAGDAD,
January 16, 1905.

Work and Workers

A POPULAR commentary on the whole Bible, to be published in one volume at a low price, is in process of preparation under the editorship of Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M.A. Leading English, Scotch, and American scholars—among the latter Professor Stevens and Professor Sanders, of Yale, will write upon the several books. The work is to be published at Oxford.

THE American Bible Society is in serious financial straits, due chiefly to the falling off in receipts from legacies. The contributions from the churches have not decreased, but the loss from the source named is sufficient to cause alarm to the society's friends. A special appeal has been made for additional gifts from persons of large means, as well as from the churches.

A REVISED edition of *The Twentieth Century New Testament* has been issued by the Fleming H. Revell Co., in one volume. The earlier edition was described as tentative. Since its publication over 200,000 copies have been sold. The work called forth a large amount of criticism, favorable and adverse, and the anonymous translators have taken advantage of this to improve their rendering in many particulars. The present edition is regarded as a final one.

IT is proposed to establish a Methodist college to be known as the Wesleyan College, at Urbana, Ill., in close proximity to the University of Illinois. This college is to be after the general type of the denominational colleges at Oxford and Cambridge in England and at Toronto. The main purpose of the college would be to provide a home for Methodist students who are studying at the university, and probably also to provide religious instruction of a high grade.

THE Young People's Missionary Movement, which is under the interdenominational body, plans to have a conference for young people's leaders at Silver Bay, Lake George, N. Y., July 1–30. The first half of each day will be spent in devotional Bible-study, under the direction of Bishop James M. Thoburn, to be followed by discussion of various study classes and addresses. The afternoon will be devoted to recreation, and the evening to denominational group meetings.

THE Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, formerly the Bible Normal College, has issued a leaflet describing its work, its relation with the Hartford Theological Seminary, and various other matters of interest to those who are thinking of taking up the work it offers. It is gratifying to notice from this leaflet that graduates from the school are of all denominations, and are engaged in all forms of religious work; they are to be found in India, China, Japan, Africa, Alaska, Micronesia, Malaysia, Hawaii, Turkey, Mexico, and England, in sixteen states of this country and in six provinces of Canada There is an encouraging demand for persons thus specially trained for religious service.

CHRISTIAN work among the Japanese soldiers in Manchuria, as conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association, has proved a notable success. In this, as in many other emergencies, the International Committee has proved itself an efficient agency for certain forms of religious effort that are impracticable for the missionary organizations of any single denomination, or even by co-operation among several denominations. The Japanese work is carried on largely by Japanese secretaries, with the supervision and assistance of men from this country, under the charge of the International Committee. About $20,000 will be the expense for 1905. Contributions for this cause may be sent to Mr. F. B. Schenck, treasurer, 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York.

ANNOUNCEMENT was made early in February of the award of the prizes offered by Miss Helen Gould for the best essay on the subject, "The Origin and History of the Bible as Approved by the Roman Catholic Church, and the Origin and History of the American Revised Version of the English Bible." The competition was open to men and women of all creeds and in all countries. From the 255 essays submitted, that written by Rev. William Thomas Whitley, a Baptist minister of Preston, England, received the first prize of $1,000. To Rev. Gerald Hamilton Beard, Ph.D., recently pastor of the College Street Congregational Church, Burlington, Vt., and now at Yale University, was awarded the second prize of $500, the third of $250 going to Charles B. Dalton, a New York school-teacher.

THOSE planning to visit Palestine the coming season will be interested in the information that the Turkish government has constructed a railroad from ed-Dera'a (Edri) to Damascus. This line parallels the road from Mezerib to Damascus, but runs through a much more interesting region of the Haraun. At ed-Dera'a there are to be a large station and a hotel. The line runs south to the edge of the Arabian Desert. Petra can be reached by a day's journey. Some of the finest ruins in eastern Palestine

are also now made easily accessible. As yet it requires a special permit from the authorities to ride upon the road, but it is to be hoped that this liberty will be increased. With this line and that from Haifa to Beisan it is now possible to visit most of the interesting sights in eastern Palestine which hitherto have been hardly within the reach of the ordinary tourist.

THE Student Bible Study Department of the International Young Men's Christian Associations is authority for the statement that 25,260 students were enrolled in voluntary Bible-study classes during the last college year. This is 9,270 more than in 1903, and 23,260 more than in 1890. The largest enrolments are in the following institutions:

West Point	260	University of Illinois	550
Annapolis	145	Cornell	235
Iowa State College	575	Oberlin	240
Princeton	366	University of Missouri	300
Yale	400	University of Toronto	360

Twenty institutions in North America expect to have 500 students each in systematic Bible-study the present college year.

Book Reviews

Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. xxxv+382. $2.75, net.

A commonly recognized need of the Old Testament student is a literary history of that section of the Bible. The science of biblical criticism has passed its empirical stage, and may now be regarded as capable of fairly precise statement, so far as its leading results are concerned. Upon details there will always be varieties of opinion, but the outstanding features of the discipline have ceased to be matters of debate. Accordingly, there is demanded a constructive presentation of the facts regarding the literature of the Old Testament; such a presentation as shall place at the disposal of the general student an arrangement of the Hebrew Scriptures as far as possible in chronological order, with some trustworthy record of their sources and writers.

Professor Kent, of Yale, to whom students of Hebrew history and literature are already greatly indebted, has increased this obligation by the promise of a series of six volumes presenting successively the narratives of the beginnings of Hebrew history, historical and biographical narratives, prophetic sermons, epistles and apocalypses, laws and traditional precedents, songs, psalms, and prayers, and proverbs and didactic poems; thus covering the entire Old Testament, and such portions of the apocryphal books as seem worthy of inclusion in such a scheme.

The first volume of this series, which is to be entitled "The Student's Old Testament," has appeared, and discloses the plan and spirit of the entire work. It includes the books from Genesis to Ruth, and is divided into five sections, the first of which deals with the beginnings of human history (Gen. 1:1—11:9), and the remainder with the early periods of Hebrew history. The material is arranged in parallel columns to indicate the four chief sources—the Judean prophetic, the Ephraemitic prophetic, the late prophetic or deuteronomic, and the late priestly. At certain points these sources are separated into their clearly discernible elements, as in the case of the two Judean narratives in Joshua. These divisions are further illustrated by a table of classification, in which the relations of the different narratives and their sources may be seen at a glance.

The preface, which outlines the plan of the entire work, asserts that the purpose is

(1) to rearrange the writings of the Old Testament in logical order; (2) to indicate their approximate dates, the classes of writers from which they come, and the more important reasons for the critical analysis of the different books; and (3) to introduce the reader by means of a clear translation to the beauty and thought of the original.

The introduction to the present volume deals with Israel's oral traditions, their transmission and embodiment in literature, the form and contents of these early records, and the characteristics of the different sources which appear in this volume. Various devices are employed to classify the material of the text. Poetical passages are printed in broken lines, according to their structure. Editorial additions, explanatory clauses, the English equivalents of important Hebrew names, and words used to restore omitted or abridged narratives, are appropriately indicated. Copious footnotes give the author's reasons for the analysis and classification of the material. Appendices present a bibliography, lists of words peculiar to the different sources woven together in the narratives, Babylonian and other parallels to the Hebrew stories of primitive times, and notes upon other matters of interest. Naturally, considerable portions of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, together with the entire book of Leviticus, are not included in this volume, but are reserved for presentation in the one dealing with the laws.

In the preparation of a work covering so wide and important a field, there must arise repeatedly questions regarding the best method of procedure, and at such points opinions will differ. For example, it seems a mistake to employ the unscientific form "Jehovah" in a work which ought to be not only popular but exact. Professor Kent acknowledges his difficulty here and indicates his decision as only partially satisfactory, where a choice among evils was necessary. A more serious question arises regarding the position assigned to the early narratives of Genesis. It is clear that the materials of Gen. 1:1—11:9 are not regarded as sharing the historical character of the remainder of the narratives recorded in this volume. In the stories of the creation, the fall, the flood, and the dispersion of the races, "the concrete details are but the clothing of the primitive beliefs and ideals." It is a matter of great moment that the student should be assisted to distinguish between material which is of this character and that which rests upon a basis of fact. Strictly speaking, historical narratives begin only with the close of the eleventh chapter. The value of the earlier chapters consists in their ethical and religious teachings, not in

their narrative form. The plan which Professor Kent has chosen for the grouping of his material gave him an admirable opportunity to place these stories of primitive times where their true character would at once appear as prophetic discourses or priestly summaries. To put them in the forefront of the historical recitals, however modified that historical element may be in the interest of more important considerations, seems as little warranted as to begin the history of Germany with the *Nibelungenlied*, or that of England with the *Idylls of the King*.

But detail criticisms of this order must yield to a genuine admiration for the work as a whole. Its scholarly character, its conservative and constructive spirit, its admirable rendering of the text, its ample helps for proper interpretation, and its large promise of good things to come in the subsequent volumes, assure the reader that a most serviceable work has been added to the apparatus of biblical study.

H. L. W.

Words of Koheleth: Son of David, King in Jerusalem. Being the Book of Ecclesiastes. By JOHN FRANKLIN GENUNG. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Pp. xiv+361. $1.25, net.

The book of Koheleth is receiving its share of attention these days. Von Zapletal is just out with a brief discussion of the *Metrik* of the book, and Paul Haupt discusses it as *Weltschmerz in der Bibel*. Professor John Franklin Genung, who some years ago published an excellent literary study of Job, has presented his readers with a similar appreciation of the *Words of Koheleth*. The author, together with most modern students of the book, rightly discards the word "Ecclesiastes," the Greek translation of "Koheleth," in the first place because it is almost certainly an incorrect translation, and, in the second place, as the author appropriately observes, because it "entitles what is of all Scripture books the least ecclesiastical." Professor Genung describes the spirit and purpose of his work as constructive. "Such spirit by no means ignores or slights the critical; rather, it takes the critical in, on its way, as an outfit of insight in which also the author himself is concerned, and in whose light the problems historic, dogmatic, philological, or whatever else, assume the proportions essentially their due." He, with some caution, identifies Koheleth's chief grievance with the views of immortality current in his time. Hence his (Koheleth's) book, though it now gives the impression of being radical, of "speaking out in meeting," is really an expression of the older, more conservative, Hebrew spirit. Koheleth sees an element of danger in the current dis-

cussions of futurity, because they "transfer life from the practical to the æsthetic and visionary." As "the nursing-father of the Sadducees," he opposes "those more zealous dispositions which are on their way to pharisaism." Professor Genung acquits Koheleth of the charge of pessimism, and in so doing parts company with most modern interpreters, particularly Siegfried, who regarded the book as the work of a Jew who had made shipwreck of faith. In the words of the author, "Koheleth handles the terms of pessimism, but is not a pessimist." His aim is to show that the intrinsic man seeks and finds the expression of his truest individuality in things that are not amenable to the idea of profit. Work accepted in joy must become a source of courage and cheer, and thus be its own reward. In consonance with this interpretation of Koheleth's thought, the author is at some pains to show that it logically issues in character. Although he recognizes Koheleth's great defect in a "more or less refined expression of regard for the main chance," his valuation of the book ethically and morally is relatively high. In fact, it is so high that we fear Old Testament scholars generally will hesitate to pay his tribute of appreciation. Professor Genung vigorously defends the literary integrity of Koheleth, nor is he willing to admit that the book reflects varying moods of the author, for whose self-characterization, Koheleth, he suggests the translation "Counselor." Such a one "is presumably master of his own moods and thoughts. His very mission is to guide, to explain, to conduct from the puzzling and troubled to a clearer and solider landing-stage. This character accords best with the large tone and tenor of the book" (p. 174).

To a full two hundred pages of discussion the author has added a new translation and a running commentary. Both are excellent, but the latter especially ripples along in clear, crisp sentences that show how much a deft literary touch may do even for a commentary. In fact, the book as a whole exhibits in language and treatment the author's nice literary taste. He has gleaned abundant illustrative material from large fields of English literature, and few are the cases in which he does not turn it to excellent use. Even when he presses into service an obsolete word or two, like "spilth" and "soilure," one is not inclined to find fault, because they seem so admirably fitted for the duty assigned them.

It seems an ungracious task to mention faults beside so many excellences. And yet a reviewer, even though he thrust forward his own unsupported judgment, is bound to be candid and discriminating. In the opinion of the present writer, Professor Genung is not at his best when he discusses, or rather makes fun of, Siegfried's analysis of Koheleth. Satire is not convincing. It must be evident that abundant probability still remains

on the side of those who deny the integrity of the book. The employment of a phrase like "prevalent theories of syndicated Bible-making" seems calculated to give the impression that the author disapproves of modern methods of Old Testament literary criticism. Yet this inference would doubtless be unjust to the author, who accepts for Koheleth the late date to which Old Testament scholars, by the use of the same critical methods, with practical unanimity assign the book. It does not appear why two well-known Hebrew words should be transliterated "Hasidim" and "Hokhma." The plain *h*, taking the place of a strong guttural, is misleading. Finally, it is difficult to overlook a tendency to overvalue Koheleth's thought and a disposition to overdraw his deposit of intended meaning. The reviewer also feels impelled to enter a *non liquet* against Professor Genung's contention that Koheleth represents a reaction against contemporary views of immortality.

But these demurrers at their worst are a small discount on a study that brings so much fresh and interesting discussion to the interpretation of a book about which there is ample room for difference of opinion. The solid merit of the serious and painstaking work that has gone into the book will win for it an honored place on many shelves.

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ.

PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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Early Hebrew Story: Its Historical Background. By JOHN P. PETERS, D.D., Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. Pp. ix+308. $1.25.

This book is to be highly commended for its method, its frankness, its sane treatment of early Hebrew story, and its reverent attitude. It supplies a real need. Like some of the chapters in Paton's *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, and Paton's article "Oral Sources of the Patriarchal Narrative" in the *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1904, Dr. Peters shows in this work that the narratives of early Hebrew history, and of Genesis in particular, while not to be accepted literally, yield a real historical value, if we treat them as we should treat similar narratives in Roman, German, or Old Norse documents, and that they lose nothing of their moral or religious value in the process. The book is written for the ordinary reader of the Bible, is unencumbered by erudite notes, is written in a clear and attractive style, and can be strongly recommended to the untechnical reader, who desires to learn how critical study affects the early books of the Bible. The substance of the book was delivered as lectures

on the Bond foundation at Bangor Theological Seminary in November, 1903, and this volume bears the indorsement of the faculty of that seminary.

In chap. 1, "Introductory: Literary and Archæological," the author gives a simple, yet clear, sketch of his conception of the literary origin of the early books of the Bible, and a general view of the history of Palestine before the Israelitish occupation as we now know it from Babylonian and Egyptian sources. His critical position is that of the prevailing critical school. In chap. 2, "The Formation of Israel: The Origin of the Twelve Tribes," the view that a group of Aramean tribes settled among and absorbed tribes already resident in Canaan is worked out with considerable detail. In chap. 3, "The Patriarchs and the Shrines of Israel," it is pointed out that the stories of the patriarchs cluster about certain shrines, and that some of these stories represent material taken over from the Canaanite traditions of which these shrines were centers. In chap. 4, "Survivals—Legendary and Mythical," Dr. Peters gathers together a considerable residuum of material, which remains after one has subtracted from the patriarchal stories the elements representing tribal movements and sanctuary traditions, and in which survivals of myths or legends are probably to be found. Chap. 5, "Cosmogony and Primeval History," deals with Gen., chaps. 1–11, which is analyzed into its various elements, some of which are derived remotely from Babylonia. Chap. 6, "The Moral Value of Early Hebrew Story," forms a fitting climax to the whole. Here by a few forceful examples the author demonstrates the vital religious value which the biblical narratives exhibit when treated in this sane and scientific way. The book throughout bears evidence of wide reading. Parallels are cited from Hindu, German, Norse, English, and classical literatures.

While, on the whole, the reviewer is in hearty agreement with the author and has become with others his debtor because of this book, in one or two points he cannot agree with him. On pp. 289, 290, Dr. Peters argues that, because a lofty morality and monotheism may be traced in Israel prior to the days of Amos and Hosea, these attest the reality of the work of Moses. The present writer doubts whether monotheism can be proved for a time anterior to Amos. Henotheism can be proved, but monotheism is something different. The oldest form of the Decalogue, Exod., chap. 34 is ritualistic and not moral. If it could be proved that the form of the Decalogue in Exod., chap. 20, goes back to Moses, that would not prove him a monotheist, for the very first command there, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," recognizes the existence of other gods, though it banishes them from Yahweh's presence. If Moses is the author of this Decalogue (which is not yet proved), he was only a henotheist.

Again, it seems that Dr. Peters has identified the Babylonian magic which influenced Israel too exclusively with the Sumerian element of Babylonian civilization. His statement (p. 33) that *shedim* is a Sumerian word seems too strong. A Semitic root is not yet clearly demonstrated, it is true, as Assyriologists differ in the root to which they assign it, but there are grave difficulties in the way of a Sumerian origin.

Such points are, however, only matters of detail. Probably no one could cover all this difficult ground and carry his fellow-workers with him on all points. The marvel is that in such a work, where evidence is often scanty and much has to be supplied from analogies often remote, one finds so little from which to dissent. The work merits high praise and deserves a wide recognition.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

BRYN MAWR, PA.

Bible Study Popularized. By REV. FRANK T. LEE. Chicago: The Winona Publishing Co., 1904. Pp. 315. $1.25.

The first chapter of this book is devoted to general information about manuscripts and translations, and closes with commendation of the American Revision. A chapter on personal Bible study follows. The rest of the book is taken up with illustrations of different methods of Bible study —by books, by historic periods, by characters and incidents—and a concluding chapter on expository preaching.

The book contains much good advice about reading and studying the Bible, which many people in our Sunday schools who sincerely desire to have their Bibles more vivid and living would be greatly benefited by following. That the advice is very plain and obvious is not a demerit. Plain and obvious advice on this subject is much needed. One can think of many Sunday-school teachers to whom the book might be a great aid in making the Bible vivid and suggesting simple ways of personal study. The last chapter, which reads like a paper prepared for some ministerial conference, is addressed exclusively to ministers. One is compelled to believe that there may be ministers so uninstructed as to need the rest of the book, though it is humiliating to think it.

The spirit of the book is not controversial. It does not antagonize "modern problems;" it never touches them, and faith in the "old Bible" is not disturbed by the suggestion of their existence. It may be questioned, however, whether even the most conservative writer needs to put Ecclesiastes in the period of the undivided kingdom, especially when he assigns the Second Isaiah to the Exile. The book makes other statements that even

a man not a "higher critic" would hesitate to indorse, as that Matthew wrote the first gospel, and that in the Old Testament "we have good reasons for believing that we have the sacred oracles just as they were originally written." The author's statements about the scrupulous care of Hebrew copyists are such as were wont to appear in books written before any serious study had been made of the Septuagint. It is hardly fair to call attention to infelicities of statement, but it is really delicious to read that after the Exile "a strong anti-Semitic feeling prevailed" among the Arabians. The writer reads the whole system of traditional theology into all the parts of the New Testament, as when it is said that at Pentecost the disciples recognized the divine character of Christ and perceived the significance of his mission, his sufferings, and his death. The mission of the book is to improve the study of the Bible within the range of traditional concepts and methods —a most worthy and useful mission, and one for which there is still much need.

IRVING F. WOOD.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

A Short History of the Westminster Assembly. By W. BEVERIDGE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 169. $1, net.

In a very clear and orderly manner, within a brief compass, this volume sets forth the events leading up to the calling of the Assembly, its character, deliberations, and findings. Chapters are devoted to "The Solemn League and Covenant," to the debates on ecclesiastical polity which eventuated in the "Directories for Church Government and Public Worship," to the "Confession of Faith," to the "Psalm Book," and to the "Larger and the Shorter Catechism." Of the many histories of the Assembly this seems to us best suited to the needs of the general reader.

John Bunyan. By W. HALE WHITE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. 222. $1, net.

The first chapter is devoted to a slender life of Bunyan and a running comment on "Grace Abounding." Other chapters simply tell the familiar story, largely in Bunyan's own words, of "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Life and Death of Mr. Badman," and the "Holy War." In "Bunyan, the Preacher" the author shows how far removed he was from the modern historico-critical method of handling the Bible. The final chapter is a very unsatisfactory treatment of "Bunyan and Puritanism."

English Church History: From the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I. Four Lectures. By Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904. Pp. 179. $1, net.

Dr. Plummer aims to be judicially fair in his estimate of men and measures in the momentous period in English history from 1575 to 1649, but on every page he makes it patent that he is an ardent adherent of the church by law established. Elizabeth's personal character was far from worthy, but it was good of her to fight the Romanists and the Puritans, and to preserve the Anglican church intact. James I, the wise fool, reached "the lowest depths of unpopularity with his subjects," but, "by solid conviction, during the whole of his reign he was neither Romanist nor Puritan, but an Anglican." Five or six particulars are specified in which he served the Church of England a good turn. Charles I, the impersonation of "incurable duplicity and intrigue," carried despotism to its utmost limit, and through his "criminal wrong-headedness and perfidy" brought about the overthrow of both episcopacy and monarchy. Dr. Plummer does not venture to enumerate the particulars in which his reign was helpful to the Anglican cause.

E. B. Hulbert.

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HARPER, W. R. Amos and Hosea. With Map and Chronological Chart. (*International Critical Commentary.*) New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. clxxxi+424. $3.

All the data are here furnished for a full consideration of every problem connected with these two collections of prophecies, whether textual, chronological, exegetical, theological, or historical. Abundant citations of literature and of divergent views mark the entire presentation of the material. Much emphasis is laid upon the poetical or strophical form of the original utterances. A striking feature is the long introduction, a large portion of which is devoted to a discussion of the prophetic antecedents of Amos and Hosea.

HARPER, W. R. The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 51. $1.

This is a presentation of the text of Hosea in its original, poetic form. The Hebrew text, arranged in strophes, is given on the left-hand page with the English translation parallel to it on the right-hand page. All later portions of the text are printed on the margin in smaller type. Necessary emendations of the text have been incorporated, and the authorities for such emendations are cited in footnotes. This, with the similarly arranged text of Amos previously published (1904), is designed to accompany the author's commentary on Amos and Hosea (see above).

HARPER, W. R. The Priestly Element in the Old Testament: An Aid to Historical Bible Study, for Use in Advanced Bible Classes. Revised and enlarged edition. (*Constructive Bible Studies*, College Series.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. viii+292. $1.

This is a greatly enlarged edition of an earlier work (1902), the new material constituting eight chapters, three appendixes, and an index—in all, 141 pages. Seven of the new chapters deal with the general subject of the priestly literature, and the eighth is given to "The Permanent Value, or Essential Significance, of the Priestly Element." In its revised form the book covers the entire range of the priestly contribution to Hebrew life and thought, and furnishes opportunity for a comprehensive study of this important subject.

PEAKE, A. S. Job: Introduction, Revised Version with Notes and Index. (*The Century Bible.*) Edinburgh: Jack, 1905. Pp. vi+355.

The introduction, of forty-seven pages, deals with the usual problems; e. g., the theology, the unity, the date, the poetic form. The commentary is concise and clear. The book is well adapted to the needs of adult Bible classes and teachers, and forms an excellent supplement to the late Professor Davidson's commentary, published twenty years ago.

KÖNIG, EDUARD. "Altorientalische Weltanschauung" und Altes Testament. Berlin: Runge, 1905. Pp. 69. M. 1.

Another contribution to the endless *Babel-Bibel* controversy. It is a discussion of the problem "whether and to what extent the so-called *Weltanschauung* of the ancient Orient exercised a positive influence upon the Old Testament representation."

JEREMIAS, A. Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Pp. 48. M. 0.80.

Another echo from *Babel-Bibel*. This pamphlet indicates several monotheistic tendencies within the Babylonian religion, but emphatically denies the correctness of Delitzsch's statement that such evidence of monotheism has been discovered in Babylon as deprives Israel of her greatest glory, viz., "that she alone of all the nations succeeded in attaining to pure monotheism."

DELITZSCH, F. Babel und Bibel. Dritte Vortrag. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1905. Pp. 69. M. 2.

This is the last lecture of the famous series on Babylon and the Bible.

SELLIN, E. Die Spuren griechischer Philosophie im Alten Testament. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. 32. M. 0.60.

A brief discussion of the evidences of the influence of Greek philosophy upon the Old Testament religion.

Jewish Encyclopædia, Vol. IX. Morawe-czyk—Philippson. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1905. Pp. xx+685.

The more important biblical articles in this volume are Moses, New Testament, Palestine, Passover, Pentateuch, and Pharisees.

STADE, B. Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments. Vol. I: Die Religion Israels und die Entstehung des Judentums. (*Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, Abtheilung XVII.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. xii+383.

A history of the religion of Israel from the earliest times down to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. An interesting survey of the material, from the hand of one of the most scholarly, but radical, representatives of Old Testament criticism. The method is distinctly historical, no attempt being made apparently at a systematic or philosophical presentation of underlying principles.

ARTICLES

SELLIN, E. Der Ertrag der Ausgrabungen auf den Trummerfeldern des alten Orients, insbesondere Palästinas, für die Erkenntnis der Entwicklung der Religion Israels. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, February, 1905, pp. 102–36.

A concise but comprehensive résumé of the results of recent oriental exploration as they affect our knowledge of the development of Israel's religion. The survey covers the work in Egypt, Babylonia, Cyprus, and Palestine.

KENNETT, R. H. The Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 161–86.

An ingenious, but somewhat unsatisfactory, attempt to explain the steps by which descent from Aaron came to be looked upon as the indispensable requirement for admission to the ranks of the priesthood.

SMITH, G. A. Jerusalem from Rehoboam to Hezekiah. *Expositor*, March, 1905, pp. 225–36.

GORDON, A. R. Wellhausen. *Ibid.*, pp. 177–94.

The first of a series of articles on the life and work of the greatest living Old Testament scholar.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ROBERTSON, A. T. The Student's Chronological New Testament. With Introductory Historical Notes and Outlines. New York: Revell, 1904. $1, net.

An effort to exhibit the books of the New Testament (in the text of the American Standard Revision) in their historical order, as conservatively understood. The plan is a good one, but might have been more fully carried out; e. g., in the articulation of Paul's epistles with the narrative of Acts. It is more likely that Hebrews was written to Rome than from Italy to Palestine, and at other points the introductions might be criticised. Through the body of the book there is no pagination.

JEREMIAS, A. Babylonisches im Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 132. M. 3.

ARTICLES

BARNES, A. S. Suggestions on the Origin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 187–203.

The author's theory of three editions by Mark of his gospel—Cæsaraea, *ca.* 42 A. D.; Alexandria, some years later; Rome, *ca.* 68 A. D.—is applied to the problem of the composition of Matthew's gospel. The assignment of non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke, to the *Logia* of Matthew, is discarded as an assumption unsupported by the facts. It is suggested that the first gospel represents the fusion of two earlier documents: the Gospel of Mark in one of its earlier forms, and a "Greek translation of the *Logia* of St. Matthew, a work consisting of five chapters, each of which chapters has been inserted almost intact, and fitted on to some appropriate portion of the Marcan narrative with out any great attention to exact chronological order." This took place probably at Alexandria, about 66 A. D.

The recognition of Luke's Peræan section (9:51—18:14; 10:1–28) as a source of Matthew and of Luke would clarify and strengthen the writer's treatment of the synoptic problem.

BINDLEY, T. H. The Method of the Christ. *Expository Times*, February, 1905, pp. 201–5.

MACKINTOSH, ROBERT. The Dawn of the Messianic Consciousness, II. *Ibid.*, pp. 211–15.

BARTLET, VERNON. The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 204–16.

It is urged, against Dom Chapman, that those who went out for the name's sake were evangelists, not fugitives from Roman persecution; that our 2 John is referred to by the "few words to the church;" that Demetrius is not Paul's Demas; and that the destination of the second epistle is some church in Asia Minor, perhaps Thyatira—not Rome or Antioch.

JACKSON, GEORGE. The Ethical Teachings of St. Paul. (3) The Pagan Virtues. *Expositor*, March, 1905, pp. 194–208.

The apostles assumed and built upon the natural morality, with its recognition of the duties of courage, honesty, industry, truthfulness, temperance, justice, which was recognized by the best spirits of paganism.

SOUTER, A. The Original Home of Codex Claromontanus, (D^{Paul}). *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 240–43.

Claromontanus, like Laudianus, was written in Sardinia in the sixth century.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

SMITH, G. A. The Forgiveness of Sins, and Other Sermons. New York: Armstrong, 1905. Pp. xii + 266.

Professor Smith is well known as a powerful and attractive preacher, and his deep religious insight and fine literary feeling characterize this collection of his earlier sermons.

ARTICLES

RAMSAY, W. M. The Book as an Early Christian Symbol, I. *Expositor*, March, 1905, pp. 209–24.

BACON, B. W. Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Ibid.*, pp. 161–77.

JAMES, M. R. A Note on the Acta Pauli. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 244–46.

A suggestion that the Acts of Paul may have been intended as a sequel to the Acts of the Apostles.



PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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Editorial

EDUCATION VS. REVIVALS, OR EDUCATION AND REVIVALS?

Does the hope of the church lie in religious education or in revivals? It is easy to multiply such antithetical questions. Is the church to rely upon the teacher or the preacher, the school or the pulpit? Is it to address the intellect or appeal to the emotions? Is it to rely upon the instructions of men or upon the operation of the Spirit? But all of these antitheses are more or less misleading, because the two members of the antithesis are not mutually exclusive.

What is education, and what are the means by which it works? Viewed as an active process, the work of the educator, not the effect upon the educated, education is the creation of an environment favorable to the development of the individual in certain directions. Place the child in degrading surroundings, keep him in ignorance of everything but the meanest things of life, fill his mind with gross and sensual ideas, and you are doing all that you can do to insure that he will grow up mean and vicious. You do not compel him to choose the worst that you set before him; you do not make it impossible for him to choose the little ray of light and truth that strays in through the darkness with which you surround him. But by limiting the things among which he may choose to the poorest and meanest possibilities of life, you do all that education can do to insure his development into a criminal. On the other hand, surround the child with an atmosphere of high and noble ideals; enable him to see the possibilities, both good and evil, in life, but give the good a fair chance; furnish him in books and pictures, in institutions and in

men, with high ideals of life, with visions of the good, the true, and the beautiful; and though you do not thus insure that he will himself be good and great, you have done what education can do to secure this result. The Spirit of God and the free spirit of man are factors in the result which are of capital importance and must never be forgotten. But education can never control these. It can only prepare the way for the Spirit's working; it can only set before the soul of man the open door of opportunity, the attractive prize of splendid possibilities.

What, then, does the revival do? Can it storm the inner citadel of the soul? Can it lay its hand upon the lever of the inner life and forcibly reverse it? Can it bid the Spirit work here or work there, achieve this or accomplish that? What can the revival do except to create an environment favorable to a right choice, to a decision of the soul in favor of faith in God, righteousness of life, and the service of mankind? Fundamentally, education and the revival work by the same methods. Both create environment; neither can do more than this. The revival is one educational expedient.

As a means of influencing the human will and human life, the revival, as commonly conducted, has indeed its own specific characteristics. As compared with what is more commonly and properly called education, it emphasizes the appeal to the emotions and the will, rather than the presentation of truth to the mind. It usually gives greater prominence to the work of the Spirit of God than does the ordinary educational process. But these differences are accidental, not inherent and fixed. The revival need not, cannot indeed, wholly dispense with the presentation of truth to the mind. There is no reason why religious education should not concern itself with the education of the emotions and the training of the will as really and as effectively as with the inculcation of truth. Indeed, it must do so, if it would be true to its own ideals. If it has not done so, it is by so much defective as education. There is no reason why education should not inculcate the whole truth concerning the Spirit of God and the supreme place of the Spirit in the religious life. What is really distinctive of the revival is that it is sporadic, occasional, rather than constant, and that it calls for a conscious, epoch-making decision of the will.

Such being the case, the only question between education and the revival in the field of religion is whether the revival is destined to have a permanent place among the practical methods by which religion achieves its aims. That we can never dispense with education is too obvious to require discussion. That we should discard the constant for the sporadic and occasional, that we should neglect the impartation of religious truth to rely solely on the appeal to the emotions and the will—this no one who reads these words would even propose. Even if the revival be given the place of first importance, it must in no small measure rely for its effectiveness upon a process of education preceding and following it.

The question of the permanence of the revival method is the only open one. And this is largely the question whether men and women are so constituted that the fundamentally right decision which marks the difference between the religious and the irreligious must be reached consciously at a definite moment of time, and whether to assist them in reaching it they need an occasional atmosphere of exceptionally strong appeal to the emotions and will. To this question the answer must be twofold. First, men differ very greatly in these respects. Some men, like the apostle Paul, come to their great decision through a violent crisis; others, by steps so gradual or processes so gentle that they never recognize the moment of definitive decision. Cataclysmic conversion is not abnormal; but neither is it the only door to the true religious life. Secondly, the need of a period of exceptionally strong emotional appeal depends in no small measure upon the character of the previous education. The more nearly the education has been what it should be, not only informing the mind, but educating the emotions and the will, the less urgent must be the need of exceptional periods of high emotional tension and appeal to the will. Yet it must be doubted whether there will ever come a time when the calm environment which education creates and maintains will not require to be occasionally varied by the more electric condition of revival. The fairest climate is not rendered less healthful by the occasional thunderstorm.

The antithesis of education and revival is a misleading one. The revival has its legitimate place in education. That the methods of religious education can be and ought to be bettered all who are

engaged in this work will confess. That such improvement will at the same time lead to a modification of the revival, and gradually diminish, though perhaps never extinguish, the necessity of it, is scarcely less certain. The revival is doubtless destined to decrease as education increases. But neither can yet say to the other: "I have no need of thee."

Our immediate duty, then, is plain. It is not that the educator shall oppose the revival or that the revivalist shall declaim against education, but that each shall endeavor to make his own work more effective by more perfectly adapting it to the nature and needs of those for whom he works. To find the best avenue of approach to the mind of the youth; to discover what truths are most effective for molding and strengthening character; to find out how not only to inform the mind, but also to cultivate the emotions and train the will to habitual right action; to do these things with such modifications of method as are necessitated by the differing conditions of various classes of pupils—these are the large and difficult tasks of the worker in the field of religious education. To co-ordinate his work with that of the educator, avoiding unnecessary conflict between the ideas gained by education and those which he himself employs in evangelism; to create an atmosphere that will, not ignobly excite, but nobly stir the emotions, and lead to right decision, which shall be permanent and prepare the way for future development—these are the difficult tasks of the revivalist. Together they call, not for mutual opposition, but for intelligent co-operation.

THREE DISTINGUISHED TEACHERS

PROFESSOR GEORGE H. GILBERT, PH.D., D.D.
Northampton, Mass.

In the "goodly fellowship" of the theological teachers at whose feet it was my privilege to sit from 1881 to 1885, first in New York, and then in Leipzig, there were three—if I pass by those who still labor and are widely honored—to whose scholarship and character I am sure that I am deeply indebted.

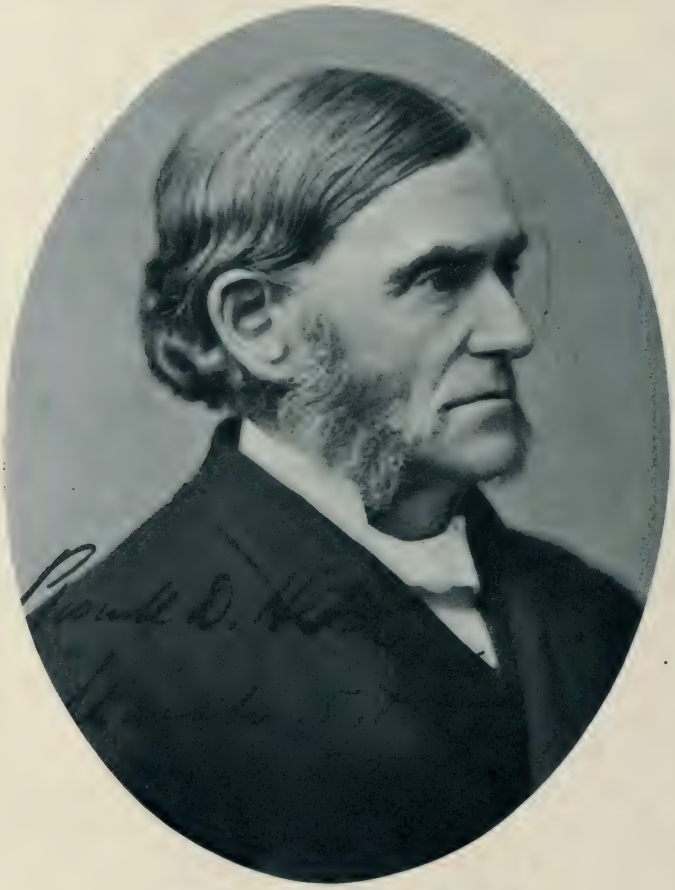
One of these three had extraordinary talent as a teacher. What he saw of truth he saw clearly and was able to set forth impressively. He had a remarkable faculty for picturesque, memorable utterance. One might have said to him what Tennyson is reported to have said to John Richard Green: "You're vivid as lightning."

The second of the three was in intellect and method a typical theologian of the old school, a worthy successor of Owen and Pearson, Bellarmin and Turrettin. The chain of his logic was strongly welded, and was probably capable—had the premises been sound—of sustaining any of his doctrinal conclusions. He used the Scripture as did the Westminster divines and John Calvin; that is, without discrimination. It was all equally inspired and equally good. A word of the young Elihu or of the forty-fifth psalm was as authoritative as a statement of Paul, and the teaching of Paul was a source of doctrine of equal rank with the gospel itself.

The third one of those now in my mind was a master of Old Testament exegesis, a man of great learning in the department of biblical Hebrew and the later Jewish literature, and the translator of the New Testament into Hebrew—a piece of missionary work which has been greatly blessed. He was conservative in scholarship, but a conservative in motion, thus differing from the second, who was a conservative at rest.

These three men, thus briefly characterized, were Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, professor of church history at Union Theological Seminary for thirty-two years, who died in 1887; Dr. W. G. T. Shedd,

professor of theology at Union Seminary also for thirty-one years, who died in 1894; and Dr. Franz Delitzsch, professor at Leipzig University for twenty-three years, after having held professorships at Rostock and Erlangen for twenty-one years, who died in 1890.



PROFESSOR ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK

Dr. Shedd was sixty years old, Dr. Hitchcock sixty-three, and Dr. Delitzsch seventy, when I became their pupil; but all were full of vigor and at the height of their intellectual power. The instruction that they gave was the mature product of many years of study, and was reinforced by a long Christian experience of life.

Dr. Hitchcock gave me my first clear knowledge of the life of Jesus and its place in the history of the world. His lectures on this subject formed the first part of his course on church history, and were, I think, the most valuable part, though the entire course was brilliant and suggestive. They were characterized by originality in the presentation of facts rather than by original investigation of the sources. It is a cause of regret that he did not put these lectures in shape for publication. But he published nothing, I believe, in the department where he labored so long. The channel of influence that he chose was mainly that of personal contact, and by this he surely sent out a strong current. For all who were once his pupils I think he is counted one of those

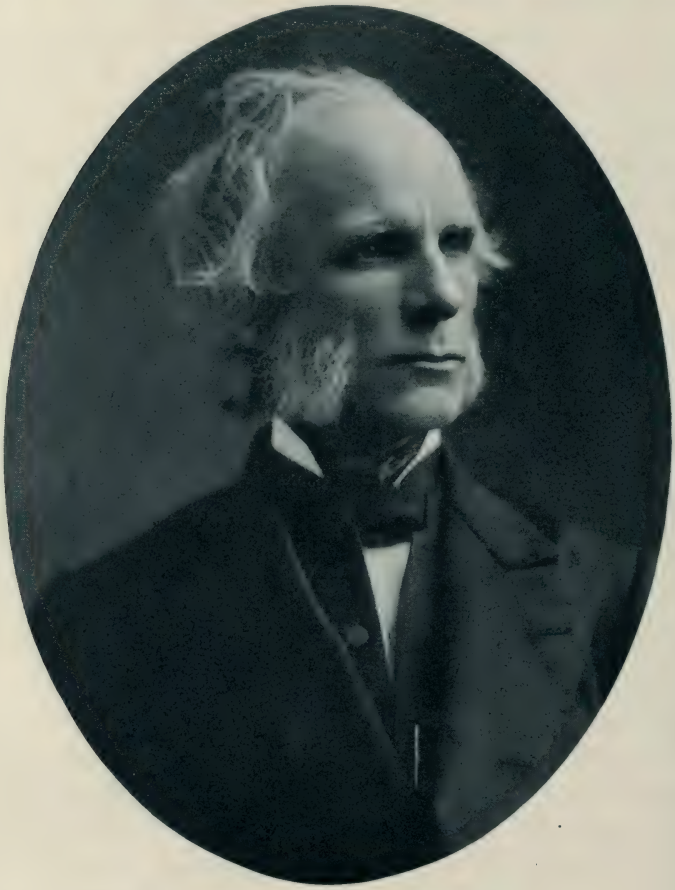
> "immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence; live
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
> And with their mild persistence urge man's search
> To vaster issues."

The quality of Dr. Hitchcock's faculty of expression, to which reference has been made, may be suggested by a single quotation from one of his sermons:

> These angels are the Imperial Guard, doing easy duty at home. We are the Tenth Legion, marching in from the swamps and forests of the far-off frontiers, scarred and battered, but victorious over death and sin.

Of Dr. Shedd's influence it is somewhat more difficult to speak. The beauty of his spirit at all times, the dignity and gentleness of his character, and his prayers in the chapel worship attracted me as strongly as his system of theology repelled me. I admired and reverenced the man, and always shall; but the theologian seemed to belong to a different and far-off age, and helped me chiefly by showing what I could not believe. His theology, from its doctrine of God to that of the last things, impressed me then very much as I am now impressed by the reading of Calvin's *Institutes* or the *Longer Catechism*. It was forcible; it sought to honor God; it contained much truth of experience; and yet, as a whole, especially in its Christology, it did not seem to have a vital connection with the Scripture revelation. No part of it seemed to spring clearly and fully out of the depths of the Bible. Nor is it strange that it

impressed some of us pupils in this way. In the biblical departments we were learning to interpret the Bible in a grammatical and historical manner, and it was impossible to go from this sort of work into the theological lecture-room without being conscious



PROFESSOR W. G. T. SHEDD

of a pretty violent intellectual wrench. The two methods of treating the Bible were plainly incompatible one with the other. It was the conflict of science with theology all within the four walls of the seminary; for the philological and historical study of the Bible was scientific, and I think most of us were on the side of science.

This situation was serious, and resulted now and then in the loss of a valuable man to the ministry. And it was not alone at Union Seminary that this situation existed, nor was it ended twenty years ago. The same theology is still taught in various places, and wherever it is taught it is necessary that the Bible should be used in the old way. Not otherwise can the doctrines be furnished with biblical support. It seems a matter of great importance to the church that the departments in the seminaries should be harmonized by a common method of investigation, as has, indeed, been done to some extent. We ought not to have scientific methods in the biblical work, and traditionalism in the department of theology.

But to return to Dr. Shedd. If anyone was fitted to make the inherited system of doctrines convincing and satisfactory, he was. He was master of the system, and presented it in a most Christianly manner. But the sappers and miners had been at work too long. The day was passing, or had already passed, when the Bible could be used without regard to its historical development. And so the work of Dr. Shedd was not of the easiest. He fell on evil times for the maintenance, intact, of the doctrines which had been handed down from ancient generations. The "old order" was changing, and giving place to a new one, whereby, we trust, the truth is being made more clear.

From the biblical work at Union Seminary to the biblical work at the University of Leipzig was an easy transition. The method and spirit were the same in both places. In the summer of 1883 Dr. Delitzsch had already passed his seventieth birthday, but his face was still fresh, his step quick, and his capacity for work great. There were yet seven years of fruitful labor before him.

The hospitality of Dr. Delitzsch, as of other famous German professors, toward students who came from foreign lands was naturally quite marked. Soon after reaching Leipzig he asked me to an afternoon walk, in the course of which we had coffee in one of the numerous "summer gardens" of the city, and thereafter I saw him a number of times in his own home. He was always accessible and ready with kindly counsel. I was attracted by the simplicity of his life and of his Christian faith. The former of these features at least I found characteristic of all the German people whom I met, and it

seemed to me a higher type of life than was common among the educated and well-to-do classes at home.

Dr. Delitzsch's study was plain, even plainer than those of theological students in America. There were no upholstered chairs;



PROFESSOR FRANZ DELITZSCH
[By the courtesy of Mr. John C. Curtiss]

there was no carpet. The long straight-backed sofa had no cushions on it. The article of furniture that was most used was a large painted desk with slanting top, at which Dr. Delitzsch stood when studying and writing. His library was across the hall, and was smaller, I should say, than those of many professors among us.

Dr. Delitzsch was fond of flowers, very frequently carrying one in his hand or wearing one in his coat, and in the most satisfactory portrait of him which I have seen he holds a white flower, perhaps a tuberose. It was a saying of his that flowers are a relic of Paradise lost, and that delight in flowers is a foretaste of Paradise regained. It always seemed to me fitting that he should have a fresh, beautiful flower in his hand or somewhere about him, for it was a symbol of his blameless life.

As I think of Dr. Delitzsch now after the lapse of twenty years, though appreciating the intellectual stimulus and the solid information which I derived from his lectures, it is plain that his deepest and most lasting influence upon me is the influence of character. It is his personality that I still feel, and therefore his face, as I see it in memory or in a photograph, moves me more than one of his books. So it was, I suppose, with the men who had been personally acquainted with Jesus. To the end of their days, that which kept the fire burning in the soul, that which made them strong and patient, hopeful and daring, was the force of his personality, the contact of his life with theirs. And in this old truth, perpetually illustrated for me by the memory of Dr. Delitzsch among others, there lies, I think, a message for all teachers of theology in this age when many consciously, and more unconsciously, are seeking after a theology which they can heartily hold. Truth is great, but character is greater. And here, in that which is greatest, all the men of whom I have spoken are close of kin. Our "little systems" of thought, it is true, have their day, and cease to be; but the day of a pure and noble character has no end. The "communion of saints" is not usually in the realm of opinion, but rather in that of love and endeavor. These three men, though differing in many points—as, for example, in their attitude toward the Bible and toward theological progress—all alike, by the silent influence of what they were, powerfully commended the simplest and deepest truths of the gospel.

BARNABAS

PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.
Edinburgh, Scotland

The name of Barnabas must always be regarded with affectionate reverence as that of the man who led the first mission to the gentiles. The name itself seems to have been conferred upon him, by the general consent of his friends, as a kind of degree or petname. Originally known by one of the commonest Hebrew names, Joseph or Joses, he was surnamed "Barnabas," which Luke (Acts 4:36) interprets as meaning "Son of exhortation" (or "of consolation") (*υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*).[1] He was a Levite and a Cypriot, and accordingly grew up as a Hellenist, speaking Greek, though of Hebrew blood and with strong ties to the Jewish religion.

Whether, as tradition reports, he was one of the Seventy sent out by our Lord, we do not know. He is first introduced as the finest example of the new enthusiasm aroused in the young Christian community. He was a landowner and promptly sold his property for behoof of those whose profession of the new faith had impoverished them (Acts 4:37). The same frank and prompt action of a generous nature appears in his quick apprehension of the change which had been wrought in Paul on the way to Damascus (Acts 9:27). He had kept himself more in touch with the world beyond than the apostles had done, and was aware of the events which proved the truth of Paul's conversion. While others looked askance at the new preacher of Christianity, fearing a snare, and scarcely conceiving it possible that so injurious a person should now be the friend of the church, Barnabas befriended the new convert and guaranteed him to the rest. This little incident throws a jet of light upon his character; for it was an act requiring no ordinary judgment, independence, and friendliness. It was, at any rate, the beginning of a remarkable and fruitful partnership of the two great Hellenists.

[1] For the difficulties found in this interpretation, see the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Barnabas." The name suggests that Barnabas had the *prophetic* gift of exhortation.

Before Paul returned from Damascus to Jerusalem, a great scattering of Christian disciples had been occasioned by the martyrdom of Stephen and the accompanying persecution. Among those who were thus scattered beyond the confines of Palestine were men of Cyprus and Cyrene. Some of these, commissioned solely by their own compassion and humanity, broke through the barrier hitherto fencing out the gentiles and began to "preach the Lord Jesus even to the Greeks" (Acts 11:20). Their work was countenanced by the Lord, and a great multitude professed the new faith. This was in Antioch, and must have been at least four years after the death of Stephen. When news of this remarkable development reached Jerusalem, Barnabas was sent by the church to see that the work was being conducted on sound lines and to give the encouragement of his presence and voice. Accordingly, he went down to Antioch and "exhorted" all to abide in the Lord with purpose of heart; "for," as Luke discerningly adds, "he was a good man," a man open-hearted to believe and recognize good in others.

So abundant seemed the opportunity, as the whole gentile world was thus opening to the gospel, and so heavy the toil involved, that Barnabas, casting about in his mind for trustworthy assistance, bethought him of Paul, who had been engaged in similar work in his native province of Cilicia (Gal. 1:21). Going to Tarsus, Barnabas found it possible to persuade Paul to accompany him to Antioch. We know too little of the progress of the gospel in Cilicia to understand why Paul found it possible to leave it in other hands. Probably the account given him by Barnabas convinced him that Antioch was the more important center. In any case, he went there, and the two friends built up a great church.

One evidence of their success, and of the crisis it formed in the history of the church, is noted in Acts 11:26. "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." That is to say, the number of gentiles who attached themselves to the church was so large that everyone at last perceived that this new community was not a mere Jewish sect, but a new religion, whose adherents must have a distinctive name. That these gentile Christians felt the same bond of brotherhood which the original disciples in Jerusalem had felt, was put beyond doubt by the willingness with which they contributed

to their Jewish brethren in Judea during the famine. No clearer or more convincing evidence could have been given that the world-old and impassable cleft between Jew and gentile had been bridged by Christianity; and it is, of course, for its significance in this respect that it is mentioned by Luke. The timely and suggestive aid was sent to headquarters by Barnabas and Paul, the former of whom had possibly been instrumental in inducing the Christians of Antioch to follow his own generous example. That men so prominent in Antioch should have been appointed to execute a financial mission which might to us seem more appropriate to less important persons, arose not only from the unifying purpose of the gift, but from the circumstance that in the Jewish church the apostles who had been from time to time sent out into the Diaspora to collect funds for the use of headquarters had always been "consecrated persons of a very high rank."[2]

On the return of Barnabas and Paul from this mission of love by which they intended to exemplify and seal the unity of the church, the "teachers and prophets" of Antioch were led to consider the propriety of sending the two apostles on a wider mission. The "teachers" and "prophets" were not, like presbyters and deacons, regularly elected and appointed officials of individual congregations, but, as possessing the *charismata*, or spiritual gifts, of instruction and exhortation, belonged to the whole church, and, as the Didache shows, passed from place to place. But, as men who were supposed to utter the mind of the Spirit, their voice was authoritative. Through them the Spirit said: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." From this it is legitimate to infer that Barnabas and Paul had themselves already opened the question whether they ought not to carry the gospel to a wider circle. Apparently they received no instructions regarding their route, but naturally betook themselves in the first place to the native country of Barnabas,

[2] "Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 412. "At the very moment when the primitive apostles recognized Paul as an apostle, they set him also a financial task (Gal. 2:10); he was to collect money throughout the Diaspora for the church at Jerusalem. . . . . Taken by itself, it is not easy to understand exactly how the primitive apostles could impose this task on Paul, and how he could quietly accept it. But the thing becomes intelligible whenever we assume that the church at Jerusalem . . . . considered themselves the central body of Christendom."—*Ibid.*

which also lay in their path to further lands. With what provision for their journey they were furnished, Luke does not tell us. They took with them the nephew of Barnabas, John Mark, who would be useful in finding lodgings, in writing letters, in preaching, and perhaps sometimes in interpreting. It would be interesting to know whether they took literally the Lord's command and carried no purse. They must, at any rate, have paid their fare, one would suppose, from Seleucia, the port of Antioch, to Salamis, and from Paphos to Perga. In passing rapidly from place to place Paul could scarcely have found work at his trade, although in somewhat similar circumstances in Macedonia he was able to maintain himself. They probably carried commendatory letters, which in some cases would mean hospitality. Sailing from Seleucia, about sixteen miles distant from Antioch, they landed, after a run of one hundred miles, at Salamis on the east coast of Cyprus, and there preached in the synagogues. There were more synagogues than one in Salamis because at that time the Jewish population was very large,[3] possibly increased by the circumstance that Herod the Great had obtained a monopoly of the copper mines.[4] Availing themselves, as was their custom, of the free worship of the synagogues, they preached "the word of God." This is the usual term by which Luke designates their gospel (Acts 13:5, 7, 44, 46, 48, 49); and by this apparently is meant the message which Jesus had brought to the world and which they, his apostles, now disseminate. The results of this preaching in Salamis are not mentioned, possibly because already the gospel had been proclaimed in these synagogues.

Leaving Salamis, they traversed the entire island, and at last reached Paphos in the extreme west. The name of Paphos was known all over the Roman world and frequently celebrated by the poets as the chief seat of the worship of Venus ("Kypris, the Cyprian"). Her annual festival was attended by vast multitudes that streamed in from all parts of the island. But what proved to be of greater moment for the work of the apostles was that the proconsul,[5] Sergius Paulus,

[3] Their numbers may be estimated from the fact that in 115 A. D. they massacred 240,000 Cyprists. In consequence they were banished from the island.

[4] "Copper" is etymologically derived from *χάλκος κύπριος*,, *aes cyprium*.

[5] Cicero had been proconsul in 52 B. C.

had his court there.[6] He was a man of intelligence, and, hearing of the impression produced by Barnabas and Paul, he summoned them to his presence. Already the proconsul had made the acquaintance of a Jew who belonged to that rather disreputable class of charlatans who, perhaps in some measure themselves deceived, roamed about telling fortunes, casting horoscopes, and trading in magic. Notwithstanding the resistance of this "devil's son and enemy of all righteousness," the words of Paul prevailed, and the proconsul passed from a laudable spirit of inquiry to a believing acceptance of the message. There is nothing incredible in this. It is merely an individual illustration of the preparedness for the Christian message which had been effected by the proved insufficiency of pagan religions and the ever-growing thirst for some true knowledge of the unseen and divine. The centurions of the gospels and Acts are the forerunners of this open-minded proconsul. His high rank is no difficulty, for no doubt he looked upon the Christian movement as an offshoot of Judaism, which was a *religio licita.*

At this point in the narrative Barnabas seems to fall back to the second place. Up to this scene in the proconsul's residence he has been regularly named before Paul; from this time onward he is almost always named after him. Thus the next move on the part of the missionary company is intimated in the words: "Paul and his company" (*οἱ περὶ Παῦλον*) sailed from Paphos and came to Perga in Pamphylia. No reason is assigned for this important step. One might have expected that they would have remained in Paphos to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the adhesion of the proconsul. Perhaps they did; but although Paul sometimes settled for a year, or even longer, in a particular town, his custom was rather to sow the seed and pass on. He had been impressed as others have been, with the parable of the seed "growing secretly" and while men sleep. Barnabas may have had many inducements to remain in Cyprus, but he yielded to the more eager spirit of his companion, and was persuaded to attempt the larger and more

[6] Interesting confirmation of Luke's account is found in inscriptions and coins which speak of the governor of Cyprus at this period, not as a proprætor, as he had been under Augustus, the province being supposed to require military intervention, but as a proconsul appointed by the senate, or as Luke calls him, *ἀνθύπατος*. See the coins and inscriptions in General di Cesnola's *Cyprus.*

audacious enterprise. His nephew, Mark, who had hitherto accompanied and aided the two leaders, now withdrew and returned to Jerusalem—an action which may possibly reflect the reluctance of Barnabas himself to prolong the mission by passing into regions wholly unknown to him, and in which gentiles would predominate. For Paul it was not so novel an undertaking, as the circumstances in Cilicia would give him some indication of what he might look for in Galatia. It is true that many Jews did not hesitate year by year to penetrate far more remote parts of Asia Minor; and, as Harnack reminds us, a Phrygian merchant voyaged to Rome no fewer than seventy-two times in the course of his life; but inscriptions prove that the "perils from robbers" in the passes which led to the table-land of the interior were not merely imaginary. But we have no reason to suppose that it was any shrinking from danger or hardship which urged Mark homeward. In later times he showed no such shrinking, and it is quite as likely that he resented some personal slight, or that there existed in Jerusalem some attraction that determined his course. It is not quite clear whether he separated from the mission at Paphos or at Perga. If, as seems more probable, it was at Perga, then why did he sail from Cyprus at all? What had emerged on the voyage to induce him to change his mind? It speaks volumes for the loyalty of Barnabas that he did not so take Mark's part as to secede with him.

Perga, about eight miles up the river Cestius, was a handsome walled city, but the apostles seem at once to have passed on to the Pisidian Antioch. The reason assigned by Ramsay for this procedure is that Paul was seized with malarial fever. Perhaps that is so, though the climate of Antioch is reported to be extremely trying. "Severe congestive fevers, *cold* fevers (or pernicious fevers, as they are called in Alexandria) are common and very fatal." So that it has been held to be more likely that Paul, if attacked by fever at all, should have been so on the "swampy Galatian plain" rather than on the breezy seacoast. Probably in moving on to Antioch, the apostles were merely carrying out a carefully thought out plan of procedure. It is not to be supposed that any missionary pursues a merely haphazard course; and Paul and Barnabas apparently wished at once to reach the cities that lay on the great Roman route from East to

West. Their idea was to plant churches along the lines of traffic, and to trust to those posts for disseminating the gospel both in the neighboring districts, and among passing caravans. To this course they were almost compelled by their ignorance of the numerous vernaculars of Asia Minor—an ignorance which compelled them to devote themselves to centers where Greek was spoken.[7] By preaching in Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, they formed a chain of communication which required only one link more to unite these posts with Paul's native Cilicia.

For some considerable time, therefore, the activity of Barnabas was spent in the table-land some three to five thousand feet above the sea, which has been called "the bridge connecting Europe and Asia," across which "the religion, art, and civilization of the East found their way into Greece," and "the civilization of Greece, under the guidance of Alexander, the Macedonian, passed back again to conquer the East and revolutionize Asia as far as the heart of India.[8] As elsewhere, so in these Asian provinces, the history of the native religions had been preparing the way for Christianity. It was the widely diffused and attractive worship of nature which prevailed also in these regions, but in forms which rendered it repulsive to the modesty of women and the growing intelligence of men. In thoughtful minds there was a longing for some truer fellowship with the divine, some clearer vision of the spiritual world than either their own religion or that of Greece or Rome had given them.

Antioch enjoyed the *jus italicum;* that is to say, it was exempt from public taxes and was governed by magistrates of its own. It was also a military center. Jews were sufficiently abundant to possess a synagogue. Thither the two apostles resorted on the sabbath and took seats among the people. The rulers of the synagogue, observing the strangers, invite them to speak, and Paul addresses the congregation—a congregation largely composed of proselytes, as the narrative again and again reminds us. According to Luke, the argument of Paul consisted of the presentation of

[7] In Pisidia "the rustic population knew little or no Greek, ... but there was a general belief that all persons of education ought to use Greek."—Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 99.

[8] Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 23.

Jesus as the Savior divinely promised to Israel. The identification of Jesus as this promised Savior was accomplished by his resurrection. This address was followed by so pronounced a success among the gentile population ("almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God," Acts 13:44) that the Jews, moved by jealousy, succeeded in securing the banishment of the apostles from their city. It is to be remarked that Barnabas is mentioned as cordially uniting with Paul in recognizing that, if the Jews rejected the promised salvation, they were justified in carrying their gospel to the gentiles.

Shaking off the dust of Antioch, they made their way to Iconium, the chief city of the tetrarchy of Lycaonia. Here, however, their experience in Antioch was repeated. Many Jews and Greeks believed, but so hostile did the unbelieving section of the community become that the apostles were compelled to seek safety by flight. One result of their preaching in Iconium has been discovered in the romantic story of Thecla, a girl so possessed by the glad tidings that she disguised herself as a boy and followed Paul and Barnabas.[9]

Fleeing to Lystra, they seem to have spent some time evangelizing the surrounding country. For a time they were unmolested. Indeed, their healing of a lame man produced so great an impression that they were hailed as gods who had come down in the likeness of men, Barnabas being identified with Jupiter, Paul with Mercury, because he took the lead in speaking. This belief came more readily to the mind of the inhabitants of Lystra, owing to the tradition that Jupiter had once before visited their city in human form. That Barnabas could possibly be identified with Jupiter, with whose statue they were familiar, is a tribute to his appearance. This outburst of popularity was, however, short-lived. Jews came from Antioch and Iconium, with that pertinacity of hatred which Paul seems invariably to have aroused. Persuaded by these Jews, the Lycaonians, true to their character for fickleness,[10] passed from adoration to detestation, and so seriously assaulted Paul by stoning that he was left for dead. He proved, however, to be merely stunned,

[9] See Ramsay's careful examination of the story and his judgment regarding the residue of fact.—*The Church in the Roman Empire*, Chap. XVI.

[10] ἄπιστοι γὰρ Λυκάονες; cf. Lewin, *Paul*, p. 151.

and with the help of Barnabas, was able next day to reach Derbe, twenty miles to the west.

Why the evangelists did not proceed to Tyana, and so to Cilicia through the Cilician Gates, we do not know. Perhaps, as Ramsay, suggests, they did not wish to go beyond the limits of Roman government.[11] "He did not go on to Laranda, which was probably a greater city than Derbe, at the time, owing to its situation and the policy followed by King Antiochus. Nor did he go to the uncivilized, uneducated native villages or towns of Roman Galatia, such as Barata." Barnabas and Paul seem to have remained some time in Derbe. At least they do not seem to have been molested while retracing their steps, although the counsel they gave to the churches in Lycaonia and Pisidia indicates that persecution of one kind or other had already begun (Acts 14:22). The reason of the return of Paul and Barnabas is probably given in the statement that they appointed by vote presbyters in each church. They had on their first visit been driven away hurriedly before any solidity by organization could have been given to the new companies of believers. They felt that they could not leave them in this precarious condition, and probably the believers themselves sent messengers after them to inquire how they could best combine. The return journey therefore might seem quite necessary. Having accomplished their purpose, they go down to Perga, where they proclaim their gospel, with what results we are not told. Finding no ship there sailing to Seleucia, they proceed to Attalia, and thence to their starting-point.

Arriving in Antioch, they report to the church which had sent them on their mission, that God had "opened the door of faith to the gentiles," an announcement which in a church so composed must have produced great delight. For some considerable time (Acts 14:28) the two friends remained in Antioch, until an inevitable difficulty arose. The tidings of their successful mission had reached Jerusalem and roused among the stricter party feelings of indignation. It was not denied that the gentiles might share in the blessings of salvation, but, in order to do so, they must first become Jews. Salvation belonged to the Jews. It was theirs by the promise of God.

[11] *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 112.

The Christ was theirs. Those who in pre-Christian days had coveted the blessings of the Jews had become proselytes and submitted to circumcision. Those who now sought to share in the full blessings of the messianic reign must follow the same course. Barnabas and Paul, who knew the gentile mind and who also understood the sufficiency of Christ alone for salvation, refused to listen to this demand. They saw that the gentile world would never submit to circumcision, and that to represent anything but Christ as essential for salvation was to misrepresent the gospel.

The conflict of opinion between the rigid Jewish Christian and the gentile Christian sections of the church became so evident as to threaten the formation of two churches, and the committal of the community in Antioch and elsewhere to fatal internecine strife. To avoid this calamity, Paul and Barnabas, with certain others, among whom was the uncircumcised Titus, proceeded to Jerusalem to consult the apostles and presbyters there. In writing to the Galatians, Paul tells them that he went up "by revelation;" that is to say, it was borne in upon his own mind, and upon the mind of others concerned, that a decision of the mother-church was probably the only way to end the conflict and extinguish the ill-feeling. He then also gives valuable information regarding his own reception by the leading men. The public aspect of the embassy is recorded in Acts. In Jerusalem they of course met the same class of people and the same objections to free and universal salvation as in Antioch. Peter's influence prevailed to win for Barnabas and Paul a fair hearing, and the former, as well known in Jerusalem, seems to have been first asked to relate what he had seen of the grace of God among the gentiles (Acts 15:12). James followed with a few wise words, the result of which was that Jude and Silas were sent down with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, bearing a letter or decree which gave the utmost satisfaction to the gentile Christians (15:31), freeing them, as it did, from the necessity of circumcision and from other ceremonial requirements.

Jude and Silas remained in Antioch long enough to see that their mission was successful, and they returned to Jerusalem under the impression that all would now be harmonious. Such, however, was not the case. After a time other emissaries from Jerusalem

appeared in Antioch with a new plea. Recognizing that it was now useless to deny salvation to the uncircumcised, they executed a change of front and now claimed that the uncircumcised were a lower grade, a kind of second-class Christians, with whom a pure Jew could not hold intercourse. This was a bold step on the part of the rigorists of the mother-church, the rather because Peter himself happened to be at Antioch at the time of their visit and had been unscrupulously eating with gentiles. But such was the influence of these skilfully selected emissaries, and so inveterate the Jewish prejudice against ceremonial defilement, that not only Peter, but Barnabas himself, was carried away by them and separated himself from gentile intercourse. This conduct Paul brands as hypocrisy. They pretended to have scruples which they really did not feel. While the strict Jewish Christians from Jerusalem were present, they posed as scrupulous Jews, although, in point of fact, before these persons appeared they had freely eaten with gentile Christians. The rebuke which Paul administered to Peter (Gal. 2:11–21) was probably sufficient to terminate the conflict at least for a time.

How long after this unhappy incident Barnabas remained in Antioch we have no means of knowing with precision. "After some time," Paul proposed to him that they should revisit the churches they had founded in Cyprus and Asia Minor. Barnabas agreed and expressed a desire to take his nephew Mark along with them, for, as Paul himself afterward acknowledged, he was a most useful assistant. But on this occasion Paul refused to select from a number of possible helpers the very man who had formerly declined to make the same journey. In this difference of opinion Barnabas displayed an obstinacy which would have served him well on some other occasions. He had probably committed himself to Mark before consulting Paul, and possibly he might be beginning to find it irksome to be under the shadow of so dominating a personality as Paul's. At any rate, the result was that they divided the mission between them, Paul taking Silas and proceeding direct to Asia Minor, Barnabas taking Mark and revisiting Cyprus.

From this point Barnabas disappears from sacred story, and the traditions regarding him are untrustworthy. The "Acts and Passion of Barnabas," an apocryphal work of the fifth century, tells us that

in the neighborhood of Cape Krommyon he converted two temple slaves, whose names are given; that after traversing the island he returned to Salamis, where he fell a victim to the fanaticism of the Jews in 56 or 57. Tertullian credits him with the Epistle to the Hebrews, and many critics have adopted this opinion. It has much to recommend it; but if, as is now usually believed, that epistle was addressed to a house-church in Rome, it seems unlikely that it should have been written by one who, so far as is known, had no connection with that city. The epistle which is named "the Epistle of Barnabas" is not authentic.

The record we have of the life of Barnabas is sufficient to convince us that he was a man of kindly, generous nature, an affectionate relative and steadfast friend, and so convinced a believer in Christ that he eagerly devoted his possessions and himself to his service. Whether it is quite fair to take him, as Newman does, as the type of those who are tolerant of religious error, may be doubted. He was more a man of feeling than of thought, and at Antioch failed to perceive the issues involved in his conduct. The sound character of the man who, after experiencing the privations and dangers of a first missionary tour with Paul, was prepared to accompany him on a second journey is above suspicion; and although in their various combined activities Paul takes the first place, to be second to Paul is no mean achievement, and probably the great missionary himself would be the first to acknowledge the encouragement and strength he found in having such a friend as Barnabas with him.

An interesting legend tells how in the fifth century St. Barnabas interposed to protect the liberties of the island church against the usurpations of Peter the Fuller, by appearing in a vision to the archbishop Anthemios, and pointing out the spot where he lay buried. On opening the tomb they found a chest containing the remains of the saint, with a copy of Matthew's gospel, in Barnabas' own handwriting, upon the breast. It could no longer be doubtful that the church of Cyprus had no less a claim to be apostolic than that of Antioch. Even in comparatively recent times the Cyprist historian, Kyprianos, celebrates the merits of Barnabas in the following language:

I doubt whether any other apostle so defended his native land and proved himself such a patriot as our Barnabas, who during his life freed his fellow countrymen from the abominable worship of idols by teaching them the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and after his death delivered the holy church of his native land from the oppression of the ambitious and grasping clergy of Antioch, and raised it to such an eminence that it was the envy even of those of the highest rank in the hierarchy. Truly and without doubt the veritable Son of Consolation, he, I mean Barnabas, fulfilled in all respects the injunction, "Fight for faith and fatherland." Under what an obligation, then, are we Cypriots to the deliverer of our souls, to the benefactor and originator of our church's renown, let each decide for himself; and let us celebrate the patron and protector of his native land both in the present life and in the one to come.[12]

[12] Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, p. 25. An excellent bibliography of Cyprus will be found in Mr. Hackett's volume.

THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN AMERICA[1]

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Education is that process of nurture, instruction, and discipline which seeks to develop the character of the individual, and to fit him for a complete social service. In this larger conception of education, which is becoming standard through the thought and activities of educational leaders, there is no difference between education and religious education. The purpose of religious education is exactly that of education. The phrase "religious education" is in use for the reason that we have long tolerated a conception of education which limited it to the area of intellectual furnishing and discipline. The phrase is a protest against this limitation. Education must include the religious and the moral elements which are involved in any true development of character and preparation for social service. When the word "education" comes to be commonly understood as thus inclusive, the phrase "religious education" will have served its purpose, and become obsolete.

For education is a unit. The education of the moral nature and the education of the spiritual nature are not separable from the education of the intellectual nature and the education of the physical nature. It is a remarkable development of fundamental thought through which we have recently come to see that the storing of the mind with useful information should not be isolated from the training of the moral and spiritual nature of the individual and from the training of the body. It is not only in religious circles, in churches, Sunday schools, and theological seminaries, that this better idea must establish itself; in all the schools of the land it is quite as important that it should prevail.

The fact seems to be that this idea of education has been recently illumined and pressed by educational rather than by religious leaders.

[1] An address given before the Religious Education Association, at its third Annual Convention, Boston, Mass., February 12–16, 1905.

We certainly do not forget that the impulse to education came originally from the church, and that the purpose of this intellectual furnishing and training was to increase the ability of the individual to promote religious thought and life. The schools of America were originally established as auxiliaries to the churches. The separation of the schools from the churches has arisen within the past fifty years, partly because of the divisions and controversies among the ecclesiastical organizations as to how the religious element should be presented in connection with the common-school work, and partly because many people outside the churches were dissatisfied to have the particular theological dogmas of the churches taught to their children.

After a period of fifty years, in which this separation has become more definite and widespread, we are now called upon to consider whether we really approve it. Do we wish to see this separation continue and grow until there is a complete divorce between the churches and the schools? Or has it already gone too far, so that we ought to find a way to restore the original union of the intellectual with moral and religious training? The present situation is easy to describe. The sixteen million children who are attending our public schools, and in them are receiving their intellectual equipment and discipline for life, are many of them failing to receive the religious and moral equipment and discipline to which they are quite as much entitled, and without which they will become abnormal men and women. It is true, our Sunday schools have a nominal attendance of some eleven million pupils. If this large attendance were real instead of nominal; if the work of the Sunday school were continued through as many years of the child's life as the work of the day school; if the time given to the religious and moral instruction and discipline in the Sunday school were equal in proportion to the time given to that of intellectual furnishing and discipline; and if the quality of the Sunday-school work were as good as the quality of the day-school work, eleven million children out of sixteen million would be fairly well developed religiously and morally. It is a fact known to all that there is no such equation in work between the Sunday school and the day school. The eleven million children who are enrolled in the Sunday schools of America

attend irregularly, and for a fewer number of years than in the day schools; the instruction which they receive is largely by voluntary and untrained teachers; the period of instruction is not more than an hour each week at best; the methods of instruction often lack pedagogical wisdom and fulness of knowledge; and the studies pursued are often conducted upon a desultory, defective plan. The religious and moral education which the children of America receive is therefore inadequate in quality and amount—entirely inadequate.

This is not because the church, the Sunday school, the Young People's Society, the Christian Association, and other organizations whose particular work is to secure the religious and moral development of the individual, are unintelligent or inactive. On the contrary, these agencies have a high efficiency, and are conducted with a growing insight into the needs and opportunities of the field. The work of the church, of the Sunday school, and of other religious agencies is to be appreciated and commended highly. The men and women engaged in this work have knowledge, insight, and energy to do their work well.

But changes have come in our conception and treatment of religion. These changes are due to fuller knowledge of history and of the world in which we live. The scientific studies of the nineteenth century did much to put us into possession of additional facts, to enlarge our thought, and to improve our view. A better understanding of biblical ideas and events, better principles of interpreting the Scriptures, better philosophical conceptions, and some sort of scientific psychology, have enabled us to bring our theology into a closer accord with facts, and into a more vital relation to our lives.

The best service we can render to theology is not the defense or disproof of patristic formulations of doctrine, which were an inevitable product of the historical and philosophical ideas, and of the dialectical methods, which then prevailed. Rather, let us see clearly and grasp firmly the essential religious truths which found expression in these ancient formulations, and endeavor to clothe them again for our own day in language which will give them vitality, attractiveness, and force for our time, such as these early credal statements had for theirs. Theology is awaiting its read-

justment to the larger field of fact, to modern ways of thinking, and to current modes of expression.

Each period of history is entitled—indeed, is driven—to bring its theological ideas and formulations into accord with its understanding of its own religious experience, and the religious experience of the past. If we find life in some respects different from what our predecessors found it, descriptions of their religious experience will not entirely describe ours. In the general progress of human development from century to century, men know better and have a fuller, truer religious consciousness. We today can appreciate certain fundamental truths of the gospel of Christ better than they were ever before appreciated by any but himself. The bearing of Jesus' teaching on the duties of men to one another in their business and social relations comes to us with greater clearness and power than to any previous generation. The mission of theology, as we see it, is not to furnish a speculative solution of the mysteries of the universe, but to bring into ordered thought and lucid expression those great facts and truths of religion which human experience past and present has brought to light.

The present forward movement in theology (if I understand it) does not offer a complete *new* infallible system of theology to replace a complete *old* infallible system of theology. Instead, the relativity of theological systems is recognized, for it is seen how the theologies of the past have grown out of and have expressed the then current conceptions of religious truth and experience. Present-day theologians are too wise, far-sighted, and humble in their formulations to assume their infallibility; what they seek to give is a properly organized account of religion which shall describe, explain, and vitalize religion to our minds. Such a formulation of theology will be always subject to modification in the light of additional facts, keener insight or better logic. The man who becomes a factor of progress in his own time is alert to the best knowledge and thought accessible to him; he possesses himself of these, makes them his own, builds upon them, determines his course by them, and so assists God in the development of his kingdom.

The task of the churches in this period of transition, reformulation, and adjustment is a very difficult one. People differ in

mental view-point, capacity and temperament. Some find entire satisfaction and comfort in the theological ideas and religious experiences of the past. That our thoughts and methods should be an exact repetition of some ancient thoughts and methods considered ideal is their highest conception of what is best. Any departure from the ancient standard is regarded as a falling away from truth. Others, with a deeper sense of individual prerogative, and with an aspiration for fuller knowledge and larger truth, go in search of them. They find their ideal in the future rather than in the past, and they push forward to attain it, carrying with them all previously discovered truth which still has practical value. These two classes of people are everywhere present, and they seldom understand one another. Each is suspicious that the other acts from sinister motives.

What is the way by which these two classes can become friendly and co-operative? By a great act of faith, each in the other, and both in God—a faith that will bring a mutual consciousness of brotherhood, a mutual recognition of the right of each to think for himself and to live his own life, a mutual willingness to fight shoulder to shoulder—even in different armor—for the common cause which both love. Truth and goodness cannot triumph while their friends distrust one another and work at cross purposes.

But we have reason to hope for a better day. The genuine union of all who believe in religion and morality must be secured. It can be secured when each will recognise his own fallibility, peculiarities, and limitations, will honestly try to understand the other, and will resolve to sink differences for the sake of achieving the higher unity and the higher good. The period of isolation is passing. Formerly individuals were independent, and groups were clannish. Now men are drawn together in many ways, by business, social, intellectual, and religious association. "Combination" is the watchword of today. It is a happy movement in most of its results. Shall we not allow ourselves to be carried by it into a noble fellowship of trust and co-operation? Toward this ideal no more earnest effort has been made than is seen in the comprehensive membership of this Association.

The ministers of the churches are the leaders of the people in

matters of religion and morality. Upon them primarily rests the responsibility for improving the religious and moral conditions which exist. It is essential that they should equip themselves to perform well their task. Theological seminaries are somewhat slow to adjust themselves to new problems, but some of them are preparing new courses of instruction and rearranging their work in such a way as to give adequate training in the history of religious experience, in the psychology of religion, in the place of the Bible in education, in the application of Christian principles to present social problems, in the pedagogy of religious and moral education, and in the knowledge of child-life and development.

With such a preparation, the minister is likely to find his Sunday school one of his chief opportunities. He will seek to bring into the school higher ideals of religious experience, a clearer understanding of child-needs and child-growth, better methods of instruction, a finer atmosphere of reverence and worship, a stronger moral influence. The task of the Sunday school is very great and very important. Many children are wholly dependent upon it for their religious and moral development; and even careful Christian parents too largely delegate to the Sunday school the instruction and nurture which should be given in the home. Wise, faithful ministers and Sunday-school workers will covet for their schools the best ideals and the best methods; they will find them and introduce them at the earliest opportunity.

Yet it is not clear that the present agencies for religion and morality, even if their ideal were the best, their vision of the opportunity perfectly clear, their energy unlimited, and their methods perfect, could accomplish the work which now requires to be done in this particular respect.

The question arises: Can any larger part of this essential religious and moral education be accomplished in the day schools? Our public schools are not indifferent to religion and morality. While no provision is made in them for specific religious instruction, and almost no provision is made for specific moral instruction, the spirit and the atmosphere of our schools are generally dominated by true religion and morality. The teachers in the schools are nearly always persons of religious spirit and moral character; their

influence upon the children in the schools is religious and moral to a high degree. In the great majority of the schools of our country the Bible is regularly read, in a number of states it is required to be read, and in only a few states, by recent legal action, has its use in the schoolroom been forbidden.

Yet a great deal more needs to be done. Our children are not receiving, either in the home or in the Sunday school or in the day school, the quality and quantity of spiritual nurture, and the specific religious and moral instruction, which are essential to their highest character and largest service. Even when all other agencies have reached the highest limit of efficiency, it may still fall to the day school to accomplish a very much larger portion of the whole task than it has yet attempted to perform.

Is there any good reason why the biblical history and the biblical literature should not find a place in the regular instruction of our public schools, at the proper stages in the elementary, secondary, and college grades, side by side with the history and literature of the Greeks, the Romans, and the English?

The Bible is not now so taught in the regular schools. It is assumed that this knowledge will be gained in the home, in the Sunday school, and in the church. Children who have homes where the Bible is taught, and who attend Sunday school and church regularly and attentively for years, will acquire some knowledge of the Bible. What proportion of the children grow up under such conditions? This generation has not the acquaintance with the Bible which is necessary to secure to the Bible its full influence in our religion and morality. The minister in the pulpit can impart much knowledge of particular biblical teachings, but teaching biblical history and literature is not the proper function of the pulpit, and would not be necessary if this knowledge could be acquired in some other way. The case of the Sunday school is similar. It strives to give a knowledge of the biblical history and literature, for this task is specifically assigned to it. But its real work is to develop the religious and moral character of the child, rather than to give instruction in ancient history and literature. The Sunday school rightly makes use of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures in its teaching of religion and morality. But Sunday-school teachers seldom discriminate between

facts of the past and the religious teaching associated in the Bible with them. It is the religious and moral teaching which the Sunday school seeks, not the exact facts of antiquity.

There is therefore real reason why the history and literature of the Bible should be taught in the regular schools along with the Roman, Greek, and English history and literature. This is now being done in many private schools and colleges. The practical use of the Bible for religious and moral purposes will still be the special work of the minister for the grown people, and the Sunday-school teacher for the children. To teach the Bible as history in the public schools will, of course, require competent special teachers who have been trained for this purpose, just as in the case of those who teach Roman, Greek, and English history and literature. These will be forthcoming when they are required.

But this is not all. To teach the Bible in the public schools as history and literature would be to give the book its rightful place from an intellectual and academic standpoint. Indirectly also it would allow the Bible to exert to some extent its strong religious and moral influence upon the student. Is that enough? Or should we have that strong religious and moral influence brought directly and intentionally to bear upon the children in our schools? They need the assistance of its ideas and its inspiration; are they not entitled to them? Shall we not provide in our schools specific religious and moral training to make our children true, capable men and women? In the schools of Greater New York wise provision has been made for moral training, not by way of textbook instruction, but by way of moral ideal, influence and discipline. In other places specific moral instruction is made a regular part of the course. In the Chicago schools, and elsewhere, generally, careful instruction is given the children regarding the bad physical and moral effects of alcoholic liquors and tobacco. There is no objection offered to ethical training, scarcely any to concrete ethical instruction, in the public schools. One of the most important steps forward in general education is this present movement to make the schools an ethical force.

The way is not quite so clear, or the steps so easy, by which our schools shall become a direct religious force, founding this ethical

training, where alone it can stand, on the religious instincts of man. But this should be done. Morality finds its only adequate imperative in religion. The sense of duty to be and to do right, the supreme aim of life, the motive to live, the emotions to love and self-sacrifice, the enthusiasm for brotherliness, the faith one has in the universe, the hope for the future—all these things constitute the religious elements in men. Life gets its meaning, its impulse, and its joy from them. Now, these vital elements of being cannot be ignored and left undeveloped in the education of the child without producing abnormality; he will lack that foundation for character and impulse to social service which are essential to true manhood and useful citizenship.

Religious instruction and training must also be adequately provided in our public schools as an integral part of general education. For (1) if this is not done, millions of children will be continually passing through our schools who, because they receive it neither in the home nor in the Sunday school, will obtain no religious and moral training from the beginning to the end of their course of education. It is a serious thing for us to graduate each year from our public schools a million children who have little or no religious and moral foundation to their lives. Many think that we are witnessing the inevitable result of this neglect in the prevalence of disregard for law, crime, the passion for material wealth, lack of self-restraint, the violation of human rights. And (2) adequate religious and moral training should be given in the public schools because the educational process is a unit. The several elements of it cannot be effectively given in isolation. Even if the home and the Sunday school did their part perfectly, it would still remain true that the religious and moral elements must be interwoven daily with the intellectual elements; or, to use a different figure, the whole intellectual furnishing and discipline should be transfused with religious and moral meaning, aim, and power.

Now, what should be done can be done. Certainly misconceptions and prejudices almost without number will have to be overcome, but is it anything other than misconception and prejudice which stands in the way of doing this? So long as the view prevailed that religion consists in theological dogmas and in formidable

creeds of intellectual beliefs, religion has been properly regarded as foreign to the work of the public schools. But we have passed through that stage and reached the better one, where we see religion and morality to be vital forces in our lives, essential to true character and social service, an integral part of education, and unobjectionable to all except those who are without a high and serious view of life. Few would wish to see a theological catechism introduced into the schools. Few would wish to see the particular denominational tenets, over which the churches have fought, introduced into the public schools. Few would wish to see the controversies between Roman Catholics and Protestants revived in our schools. It is not controversial and speculative theology that one has in mind in advocating a religious and moral element in the public schools, but the genuine spirit of religion which gives a real purpose to life, which points to a high mission for the individual, which inculcates brotherly love and service, which develops high moral ideals and standards of conduct, and which prepares the children to become intelligent, sincere, and effective citizens of America.

We are having a most salutary discussion at the present time of the varied immorality which prevails in our individual, social, and civic life. The public disclosures which have been made by Lincoln Steffens and other writers as to the immoral and unrighteous influence of money in national and municipal affairs, the prevalence of crime and wickedness of all kinds, the failure of our courts to act promptly and effectively against the enemies of the republic, the inability of our churches to establish a high religious and moral standard among the masses, the frequency with which even those who profess to uphold the standards of the church violate these standards in business and social life, are facts which call for profound consideration, and for such action as shall make religion and morality more real to men and more effective.

A danger exists that religion shall come to be generally thought of as an antiquated survival from the past, as an extravagant emotionalism helpful only to the few who appreciate it; that the churches shall be classified as social organizations of the wealthy or the educated; and that morality shall come to be widely regarded as a matter of expedience, or a matter of business regulated only by legal

statutes. The situation needs attention. Any fair reflection upon the way men think and act reveals the tendency toward these views of religion and morality. The secularist views, the commercial standards, the pursuit of material wealth, and the devotion to temporal things, are indeed characteristic of our age. It is an actual condition of things which we face. The task is a real one before us who believe in religion and morality, and who believe that religion and morality should furnish the standards of life in all its aspects.

It is not that America is worse in these respects than other countries; on the contrary, our general education is unequaled in quality, amount and effectiveness. Democratic ideals and institutions can exist only where the people are well equipped in knowledge, well trained in judgment, capable of self-control, and solicitous for the public welfare. But the radical change which during the past fifty years has come over American life has brought in new conditions, with new moral problems to solve. We have recently passed from the agricultural stage into the commercial stage of national development. Fifty years ago cities were few and small, communities lived in comparative isolation from each other, country life was typical, agricultural pursuits were dominant, people read little. Life was simple under these conditions. The simple kind of religious and moral education which had been developed to meet these conditions was fairly effective.

Now a transition has taken place. We have become a manufacturing and commercial nation. Our many great cities are crowded with people. Agriculture is left to people from foreign countries who have come to this land of opportunity. Business is dominant, and on a vast complex scale, due to the rapid development of railway intercommunication, mail, telegraph, and telephone. Great national wealth has been developed, and money is used with prodigality in every direction. The enormous power of capital has been learned. Vast areas of property have come into the control of a few persons, monopoly rights have been secured over the material necessities of existence, the free business activity of the many has been suspended by trust regulation. On the material side of life there is little which money cannot buy, and the money is forthcoming in almost any quantity. Those who have the genius to gather this

great wealth of the nation into their own hands are rapidly becoming the real dictators of national conditions and national destiny. For bribery comes easy to those who have money, and those who do not have money, but need it, seem to be unable to withstand the temptation to secure it in this way.

The reign of bribery and graft in national, state and municipal politics shows how far we have drifted into commercialism; and still, people are scarcely aware of the actual conditions of things. Have not business morals and business ideals almost unconsciously become standard among the majority? Many highly respectable business men conform only to the legal test of what is right in business. The Golden Rule, the spiritual realities, the sacred rights of humanity, the moral ends of life, are acknowledged (it may be) on Sunday, but are found to be impracticable on week days. Many a man who would *like* to act on strictly Christian principles seven days in the week succumbs to the way of the business world. One man alone, or even a few men together, cannot change this mighty current. The moral pressure of society as a whole is the only power which can turn business from its present principle that "might makes right." "The great political problem of the day," says a prominent New York journal, which professes neither religion nor ethics, "is how to prevent the men on the inside from taking everything. It does seem as though the ethical standards of American business needed propping up." So long as business methods mean the exploitation of others for selfish ends, both religion and morality must protest, and must in every way seek to correct and to counteract this false use of one's fellow-men.

Further, the great increase of individual wealth has produced an era of luxury, extravagance, and pleasure. The material standard of living has advanced step by step until now it is most expensive. In cities, a conformity to the standard requires an annual expenditure of several thousand dollars, even for a small family. To fail of attaining the standard is to put one's self in partial ostracism. And the ostracism is not only social—many could endure that; but to the professional man—be he doctor, lawyer, minister, or educator—it means lack of prestige, lack of influence, lack of opportunity, lack of income, failure of ascent in the general scale of success.

Hence comes the fearful struggle for money, in which we are all more or less engaged. The desire for many things, even good things, produces the effort to secure the means of obtaining these things. In this effort lives are daily wrecked. And any who maintain a fair degree of morality and moderation know how hard it has been to resist these material temptations and ambitions. For one to live by a high ethical and spiritual standard, when the commercial standard prevails around him, is one of the severest tests of our devotion to the unseen and the eternal.

The simple life—about which we now talk much—is indeed a worthy and a Christian ideal. Yet few follow it except by force of circumstances. As a rule, people live as expensively as they can afford, and with increase of income they increase their expenditures. One would find himself quite alone if he really undertook to lead the simple life, just as he would find himself alone if in business he maintained an absolute honesty. People must *unite* to establish a higher standard of living, whether in the political, the commercial, the social, or the professional sphere.

This improvement of conditions can be realized only as a result of religious and moral education. We must face squarely the present facts, and discover why things are as they are. We must decide what our ideals should be, and then set ourselves to the attainment of them. We do not in America lack for distinct and lofty religious and moral ideals; they are our heritage from the past. But we *do* lack a real devotion, a real self-committal, to them. We preach and proclaim them, but we do not achieve them. We, too, like the Pharisees of the first century, and like the men of every century, "leave justice, mercy, and faith undone"—not absolutely, of course, but relatively. Our ideals are high, but practically they seem unattainable. Therefore we need such religious and moral education as shall give strength to our purpose, and guidance to our efforts, for the ideal. The training of the young (which we call education) must embody these ideals, must implant and nurture them, that our children may become exponents of our *best* thought and illustrations of our *best* conduct. What we ourselves are, America will be. The citizens *are* the nation. Bribery, graft, economic slavery, luxurious living, crime, professional dishonesty, can exist only where men either

practice these things themselves or tolerate them in others. There is no way to effect righteousness except for you, and me, and the next man, to be righteous. This is our work. We acknowledge it. Will we *do* it?

I take it that the Religious Education Association arose and exists to exalt religion and morality as a practical factor in the lives of all; that its purpose is to learn first what the actual conditions are, then to discover and proclaim the ideals which should control, and then to find and establish the best ways by which to realize these ideals. We are an organization of individuals who desire to unite our thought and action to vindicate religion and morality, to interpret them, and to make them regnant among men individually and socially. To many persons this seems to be the most fundamental and the most important problem of the opening twentieth century. In its larger aspects and issues this problem concerns every development of our national life. The permanency of our institutions depends upon their maintenance in truth and righteousness. The largest service which we can render is that which will produce men and women of high character, true insight, and noble deeds. We talk much of these things, and that is necessary to their accomplishment; but it rests with us to find ways by which we ourselves, and others about us, shall actually live according to these high moral standards and religious ideals.

JOSEPHUS AND CHRISTIANITY

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The importance of Josephus for Christianity has been acknowledged from the beginning. The apologists cite him as an authority; Jerome and many later writers number him among the ecclesiastical authors. In the Peschitto manuscript in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan the sixth book of his history of the Jewish war is included in the Bible under the name of the Fifth Book of Maccabees. How diligently he was read also in the West is shown by Bishop Amulo's complaint (ninth century) that, owing to the study of his works, the Bible itself was neglected. Already in the fourth century a free Latin translation of the work mentioned above had been made; in the sixth century his works were again, and this time correctly, translated. During the Middle Ages translations were made into French, Italian, Spanish, and German; later, into English and Dutch, and lastly into Swedish and Russian. The first English edition (to mention this only) was made by Th. Lodge, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Only a hundred years ago the German translation of Josephus, printed with illustrations, was a favorite book for Sunday reading in the home; and the well-known Strassburg theologian, Ed. Reuss, was accustomed to recall many scenes of Jewish history as he had seen them represented in the woodcuts of that book.

But the scientific study of Josephus' works did not begin until the eighteenth century. In 1720 Fr. Wocken, conrector at New Stettin, gave (according to the title of his book) "an example of the use one might make of Josephus and his style in explaining the Holy Scripture, and especially the New Testament." In 1741 the Zürich theologian F. B. Ott wrote his *Extracts from Flavius Josephus, for the Explanation of the New Testament.* But the most important publication is that of F. T. Krebs, conrector of the Fürstenschule at Grimma, who, according to the manner of his time, in 1755 edited a work entitled *Observations upon the New Testament from Flavius*

Josephus. There has been no lack of books and treatises upon the writings of Josephus since the eighteenth century revival of interest in them. But a special treatise dealing with the importance of Josephus for Christianity has not, as far as I know, been published during the last one hundred and fifty years.

Instead of this, a special question, to which Ott had already given attention, has often been discussed—the question of a literary relation between Josephus and certain writings of the New Testament. Ott came to the conclusion that the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts must have been known to Josephus; and only fifty years ago the Roman Catholic theologian Aberle, at Tübingen, arrived at the same conclusion. But Keim reversed this statement, and many German, French, Dutch, and English scholars have shared his opinion; of the English I mention Walter Cassels, author of *Supernatural Religion*, and Edwin Johnson, author of *Antiqua Mater*, as well as James Martineau. Nevertheless, I think that dependence upon Josephus, or upon one of his authorities, can be proved only in two passages of the Acts. I will refer to these later. I shall not at all discuss the question whether, as was thought by the excellent American theologian, Ezra Abbot, the second epistle of Peter depends on Josephus. Hitzig held to a dependence of the Epistle to the Hebrews on Josephus, but Holtzmann was right in rejecting this view.

I shall here confine myself to compiling what we can learn from Josephus for the interpretation of the New Testament. First, I shall discuss those places where he speaks, or seems to speak, of Christ himself. Then I shall cite those which refer to other persons or events mentioned in the New Testament. Finally, so far as the length of my paper admits, I will show how great a number of other passages receive an explanation by Josephus.[1]

I

At this time[2] lived Jesus, a wise man—if we really may call him a man. For he was a performer of miracles, and a teacher of those who with joy accepted the truth, and attracted many Jews and also Greeks. He was the Christ. And when our chief men accused him, Pilatus condemned him to die on the cross.

[1] My citations are from the Niese edition of Josephus' works. The numbers in brackets mark the verses noted by him, besides the books, chapters, and paragraphs.

[2] So we read in the *Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 3 [63 f].

Yet those who had loved him from the first did not leave him, for after three days he appeared before them alive, after the divine prophets had foretold this and a thousand other wonderful facts about him. And to this day the generation has not failed of those who after him are called Christians.

Ever since the time of Eusebius, even throughout the Middle Ages, this passage has been quoted without a doubt of its authenticity. It was not till the sixteenth century that criticism of the passage arose; the criticism was sharply refuted. For instance, A. Whelock, professor of oriental languages at Cambridge, wrote as follows: "I would as soon let Josephus be wholly lost to the world as allow the Christian church to be deprived of that jewel." And even in the last few years Roman Catholic authors, especially the Jesuit Kneller, have defended the authenticity of the whole passage. But other scholars, among them the historians Ranke and von Gutschmid, have regarded the passage as partly interpolated by a Christian hand. A third class of critics think it an entire interpolation (so Schürer and Niese). I think this last-named view is the correct one.

First of all, it is clear that Josephus could not have written in this way unless he had been a Christian. W. Whiston, professor of mathematics in Cambridge, did indeed believe that Josephus changed his faith and died as bishop of Jerusalem; but we have no evidence for this. And a Jew could scarcely have written the words at the beginning of the passage: "if we really may call him a man." This expression is not parallel to that other in which Josephus calls the courage of a soldier named Julian "superhuman," or to that where he speaks of the figure of little Moses as divine.[3] In these passages surely he speaks figuratively; here, on the contrary, the writer really doubts whether Jesus may be called a man. Josephus might have spoken of the miracles of Jesus, but only a Christian could have written that his adherents accepted *the* truth. In the same way the opinion that this man was Christ could have been announced only by an adherent. Even Kneller thinks that originally it was written: "This man was the so-called Christ." For if Josephus intended only to say, "he is the man who is known to you Romans by the name of Christ" (so Ranke), then the name of Christ and of the Christians must be supposed to have been known to wide circles, and even this

[3] *Wars*, VI, 1, 8 [82]; *Antiquities*, II, 9, 7 [232].

is doubtful. But then the prophecies of the Old Testament referring to the Messiah are said to have found their fulfilment in Jesus; would the writer try by means of this statement to shift from the Jews to the Christians the suspicion which those expectations created in the mind of the Romans? Would not Josephus either have been silent about these things, as he was at another place (yet to be treated of), or else have expressed his opinion more clearly? For as it was, scarcely anybody could understand him. Moreover, if by thinking of those prophecies he wanted to free the "chief men of his people" from suspicion, he should have pointed out that the Old Testament prophecies referred to the death of the Messiah. But he speaks only of his resurrection and of a thousand other wonderful things. And even if this was not the case, according to the belief of the time those prophecies point certainly to the Messiah. Therefore, if they were fulfilled in Christ, then he truly was the Messiah—and no one will ever imagine that Josephus could have believed him to be the Messiah. At any rate, the passage as we know it cannot be as originally written by Josephus; it is either wholly or in part interpolated.

Two arguments are generally quoted for the latter opinion, as well as for the genuineness of the whole passage:

1. The first one is founded upon the good transmission of our passage. Not only is it read in all known manuscripts of Josephus, but from the time of Eusebius down, it has been quoted by the Christian fathers. It is true the testimony of the manuscripts does not prove much; for Books 18–20 of the *Antiquities* are preserved by only three manuscripts, of which the oldest belongs to the eleventh century. But also the so-called epitome of the writings of Josephus, belonging to the ninth or tenth century, the Latin translation, and the so-called Hegesippus know our passage; while, on the contrary, the Christian fathers living before Eusebius do not seem to have any knowledge of it. Origen especially says in two places that Josephus did not believe in Jesus. But though this does not prove that Origen read in our passage "he was the so-called Christ,"[4] yet it might be possible that Origen overlooked this passage, as many later writers did; and this is possible, for he was ignorant of many things which

[4] For if he did, then Josephus ought at least to have been mentioned in Origen's book against Celsus, where all is collected that Josephus says about Christianity.

are of interest for the interpretation of the gospels and can clearly be read in Josephus. At all events, we cannot take for granted that our passage must have existed at the time of Origen; nor can we prove that it was to be found in the archetypes of our manuscripts of Josephus about the middle of the second century, from which all our manuscripts seem to be derived. For though, as we saw above, all of them contain it, yet it may have slipped into several at the same time, or it may have been copied from one manuscript into the others. Further, the short tables of contents, most likely belonging to the time of the Antonines, and not only mentioning the most important things, but even minor matters, do not take notice of our passage. It is true, they do not mention either the passages relating to John the Baptist and to Theudas the revolutionist (passages which I shall soon discuss), and only of the first one can it be said that it is included in another passage. But, although these arguments cannot prove the late origin of the Christ passage in Josephus, they are supported by the silence of Josephus' earlier work, the *Wars of the Jews*. In the first two books of the *Wars* nearly the whole narrative contained in the *Antiquities* referring to Judea is given, but this striking passage about Jesus is missing. It is true, the list of the Roman procurators between Coponius and Pilatus, and the list of the Jewish high-priests and the history of the temple, are also wanting; but all this is of another kind and not striking. Only the story about Theudas is missing without any evident cause; therefore the authenticity of the passage about Jesus is not disproved by its absence from the *Wars*. But, considering that it does not appear here, nor in the *Argumenta*, nor in many of the Christian fathers, the coincidence of all these different evidences makes probable its later origin. Thus the first argument for the authenticity of our passage is changed into one against it.

2. In a later portion of his *Antiquities*,[5] Josephus relates that after the death of Porcius Festus, Ananus the high-priest had ordered James, the brother of Jesus the so-called Christ, and some others, to be stoned to death. As this title in itself does not seem intelligible, some suppose that Josephus must have spoken of Jesus Christ earlier, that is, in *Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 3. It is true, the later passage is also

[5] XX, 9, 1 [200].

supposed to be not genuine, especially because Origen, who three times mentions Josephus' account of the death of James, read it differently. But, first, it is by no means certain that Origen read this passage in the form in which we know it; yet, even if he did, it does not follow that because this later passage is unauthentic, the earlier one is also unauthentic.

Moreover, the different account of Hegesippus cannot be quoted against the authenticity of the passage in Josephus. In the first place, they do not necessarily differ in chronology; but even if that were the case, Josephus would be trusted above Hegesippus; all the more because the time at which Josephus places James's death was suitable to such a judicial murder. It has even been thought that the Jews wanted to make up by his death for the escape of Paul, who the year before had eluded them by his appeal to the emperor. But although this must remain doubtful, the genuineness of the passage about James need not be abandoned; and it seems to support the former passage about Christ, for how should we otherwise understand the phrase "the so-called Christ?" It is true that some have supposed the phrase a distinguishing cognomen—in the same way as in the book of Acts Joseph, who is proposed as Judas' successor, has the surname of Barnabas, and Justus, in the Epistle to the Colossians a companion of Paul, has the surname of Jesus. Indeed, three years ago an inscription was published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, in which the name of Christ is used as the cognomen of a Roman. But if the name here had to be understood in this way, Josephus might have chosen another expression; instead of "the so-called Christ," he might have said: "With the cognomen of Christ." If he did not do that, he should have explained the signification of that title. But it is not Josephus' custom always to speak with such accuracy. For example, he relates[6] that Antiochus of Comagene had been reinstated by Emperor Claudius, but we look in vain for the detailed story of his removal by Gaius. Moreover, one could expect that if Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 3, spoke of Jesus Christ, he would expressly have referred in XX, 9, 1 to his previous quotation, as he does in other places. But even if this should not be absolutely necessary, the first passage is by no means presupposed by the

[6] *Antiquities*, XVIII, 8, 4 [276].

second; for also here, as we saw, the title of Christ is not at all interpreted. So at any rate, the genuineness of the earlier passage cannot be proved from the later; moreover, the reason against it, into which the first reason for it has been changed, is supported by two other arguments, the first of which especially makes it seem impossible that it was only worked over in a later time.

1. If we consider the context of the passage about Christ, it is evident that in a general sense this passage suits it fairly well; but if we go into particulars, we find that it very disagreeably interrupts the context; because what follows reads thus: "About the same time another fearful event excited the Jews;" but the appearance of Christ could not be so described. On the other side, this last-mentioned note fits in exceedingly well with what we read before about the revolutions of the Jews caused by Pilatus; it must therefore originally have followed immediately upon that passage.

2. The whole style and character of the passage can scarcely be attributed to Josephus. It is true the differences in his manner of writing would not be decisive, and also the expression "our chief men" could be explained. But the manner in which Jesus is spoken of completely differs from the practice of Josephus. While concerning Judas of Galilee, John the Baptist, Theudas and the Eygptian, he states their origin, manner of living, and the cause of their death, all that is omitted here. This could be well done by a later Christian writer, but not by a Jew writing for Roman readers. Of course, it might still be possible that in the place of the verses which we find in our editions there were originally some other sentences. But that this was the testimony about Christ which we find in the Acts of the so-called Religious Dispute at the Court of the Sassanides (and several times in later writings) is disproved by the fact that, as we have seen, vs. 65 has to follow immediately on vs. 62. Josephus never mentions Jesus Christ (the later passages about James excepted). The motive for silence was certainly in part that he did not know any details about him, and what he knew did not seem to him important enough to mention. Also, his predecessor, Justus of Tiberias, did not speak of Jesus, so far as we know.

But Josephus' silence can even better be explained. The hopes of the Messiah seemed politically dangerous to the Romans; there-

fore Josephus spoke of them as little as possible. When he could not help mentioning them, he did not hesitate to indicate them as the cause of the Jewish war against the Romans.[7] And, in another place, too, where he should have referred to them, he simply passed them over in silence. It is this passage we have to speak of now.

II

Josephus, in an important passage,[8] speaks of John the Baptist thus:

> Herod killed him, an excellent man, who exhorted and admonished the Jews to live virtuously, to practice justice toward each other and piety toward God, and to come to baptism. . . . . But because all the others came to him (for they were much stirred by his sermons), Herod was afraid that his mighty influence upon the crowd might incite an insurrection (for upon his advice they seemed ready to do anything). Therefore he thought it much better to anticipate by an execution these endeavors to cause an uprising than, in the case of a revolution, to have to regret his having fallen into difficulties. So, upon the suspicion of Herod, John was fettered and sent to Machærus, and there he was killed.

This account of Josephus is not only in harmony with that of the gospels, but it also serves as a supplement to their reports. First of all, we hear from him where John was beheaded. Indeed, some have tried to build up out of this passage and that which follows, a new chronology of the life of Jesus, differing from the one which the Gospel of Luke gives (chap. 3). But this—as by this time nearly all acknowledge—has proved a failure. Nor can we date Paul's flight from Damascus, of which we read in 2 Cor. 11:11 f., by what Josephus relates here about Aretas. For, in the first place, it is not certain that by this time he owned the town; and even if we could accept this, we do not know how and when he took possession of it; and if we also succeeded in finding that out, it would not yet be certain whether the flight of Paul took place at the end of his first or of his second stay at Damascus, both of which the epistle to the Galatians mentions. And so we have advanced no farther with our chronology.

It is, however, self-evident that we can gain very much information from Josephus, not only about the Herods, but also about the high-priests and the procurators. Three instances will illustrate this:

[7] *Wars*, VI, 5, 4 [313]. [8] *Antiquities*, XVIII, 5, 2 [117 ff.].

an episode from the life of Agrippa I, a passage of Gamaliel's speech (Acts, chap. 5), and a note from the time of Felix the procurator.

1. Of Agrippa I the Acts speak as follows:

> Upon a set day he arrayed himself in royal apparel, and sat on the throne and made an oration unto them. And the people shouted, saying: The voice of a God and not of a man. And immediately an angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.

Josephus[9] does not know anything of this angel, or of Agrippa's special illness; but otherwise his account fully agrees with that of the Acts, and serves to confirm it.

2. On the other hand, there is surely a disagreement when Gamaliel says of Theudas that he made his insurrection before these days, even also before the census, while Josephus[10] transfers this event to the time of Fadus, that is to say, not only after the census, but also after this speech. To be sure, some declare this passage of Josephus partly interpolated, or postulate another Theudas; but this is impossible, because even the words of the passage are similar to those of the Acts. The only question is, which of the two accounts is the original one; and the answer must be, Josephus'. For Josephus explains why the Acts has Theudas' insurrection come before the census. Immediately after the narrative of Theudas, Josephus speaks of the sons of Judas the Galilean, who had made an insurrection at the time of the census. The author of the Acts takes these sons for their father, and therefore transfers Theudas to a yet earlier time. So in this case we have to correct the account of the Acts from the account of Josephus; and we are able to see at the same time how the Acts discrepancy originated.

3. Lastly, we read in Josephus[11] that Felix got his wife with the help of a Jewish magician from Cyprus. At first this seems to have no bearing upon what we read in the Acts. Some interpreters, indeed, supposing that the name of the man was Simon, have seen in him the archetype of Simon Magus. But, on the one hand, it is very likely that this Simon Magus, as he is described in the Acts, is historical; and, on the other hand, it is not at all sure that this

[9] *Antiquities*, XIX, 8, 2 [344 ff.].

[10] *Ibid.*, XX, 5, 1 [97 ff.].

[11] *Ibid.*, XX, 7, 2 [142 f.].

Jew from Cyprus was called Simon. Our best manuscript of the last three books of the *Antiquities* and the epitome (ninth or tenth century) call him Atomos; and although that cannot be his real name (for no Jew could be called the uncircumcised), it helps us to find what his real name was. Only the so-called β text of the Acts, as reconstructed by Blass, supplies at Acts 13:6 the original reading. For Bariesus and Elymas, as this magician is called in our common text, are not synonymous; but Etoimos or Paratus, as he is called in some of the Western manuscripts, can indeed be regarded as a translation of Bariesus. Now, it is unlikely that two different Jewish magicians from Cyprus were at the same time in the suite of two Roman procurators; therefore this Etoimos-Bariesus was probably identical with the one mentioned by Josephus. That is to say, he left Sergius Paulus at a later time and was attached to Felix; indeed, it may be that he was recommended by the one to the other. In this case we also understand better why Drusilla[12] took such an interest in Paul; perhaps she had heard from her confessor (if we may so call him) of the earlier meeting between Bariesus and Paul.

On the other hand, some scholars have sought light from Josephus on the difficult passage, Matt. 23:35. It is true, the Old Testament does not know that "Zacharias, the son of Barachias," was murdered between the temple and the altar; for the Zacharias who, according to 2 Chron. 24:20 ff., was stoned to death in the forecourt of the temple was the son of Jehoida. But the other Zacharias, who, according to Josephus,[13] met his death in the temple two years before the destruction of Jerusalem, is called son of Baruch only by inferior manuscripts; in the best manuscripts he is called the son of Bareis. Therefore the best explanation of the father's name in the Gospel of Matthew is that this Zacharias was confused with the prophet Zacharias, the son of Barachias. That is to say, we cannot use this passage as an argument to show that the composition of the Gospel of Matthew took place after the year 70 A. D.

III

But numerous other passages of the New Testament are indeed explained to us by Josephus, even when he does no more than relate

[12] Acts 24:24. [13] *Wars*, IV, 5, 4 [335 ff.].

similar events. We begin by noticing references to the Old Testament which differ from the accounts contained in the Massoretic text.

One of the first incidents referred to in this way is the story of Noah. We do not read in Genesis that Noah preached to his contemporaries, but in the second epistle of Peter he is called "herald of justice." Similarly, Josephus[14] relates that Noah did whatever he could to change the minds of the people and bring them back to a better living.

Especially numerous are the parallels to Stephen's apology (Acts, chap. 7). Krebs gives this chapter special attention. Here we read that God said to Abraham, before he went to Haran: "Get thee out of thy land, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee." According to Gen., chap. 12, these words of God were spoken to Abraham after he went to Haran. But Josephus[15] agrees with Acts. Later on Stephen calls Moses "mighty in words," contradicting the Exodus account, but Josephus[16] agrees with him again. Further, we read in Josephus[17] that the law was given by angels, an idea found also in Acts, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That Balaam advised the Midianites to seduce the children of Israel to idolatry is only once[18] hinted at; but in detail it is given by Josephus,[19] and only in the light of his account can we understand what the Apocalypse relates of Balaam, and the allusions contained in the first and second epistles of Peter.

But Josephus is above all an authority for the period in which he himself lived, a period to which belongs also the composition of most of the New Testament writings. Certainly we learn much from him about the geography of the Holy Land and about the city of Jerusalem. I will refer here to but one detail, which we can understand only with the help of Josephus (other authorities do not help us). The pinnacle, or better, the wing of the temple, which is spoken of in the description of Jesus' temptations, was probably that hall, situated in the south of the temple court, of which Josephus[20] says

[14] *Antiquities*, I, 3, 1 [74].
[15] *Ibid.*, I, 7, 1 [154].
[16] *Ibid.*, II, 12, 2 [271]; III, 1, 4 [17 ff.].
[17] *Ibid.*, XV, 5, 3 [136].
[18] Numb. 31:16.
[19] *Antiquities*, IV, 6, 6 ff. [126 ff.].
[20] *Ibid.*, XV, 11, 5 [412].

it towered so high above a deep valley that whoever looked down became giddy, even before his eye reached the bottom of the gloomy depth.

It is not within the compass of the present article to put together the various items of information which we receive from Josephus regarding the observance of the law by the Jews of his time; I mention a single passage of the New Testament. In the Second Epistle to Timothy it is said of this pupil of Paul—who, according to the Acts, was the son of a gentile father but Jewish mother—that from a babe he had known the sacred writings; and in a similar passage in the book of Josephus against Apion[21] we read: "As we learn the law by heart from the very first awakening of consciousness, it is in some way graven on our hearts."

Josephus' description of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes needs considerable correction. He puts them together[22] in a way that may easily cause confusion: he calls them philosophical schools,[23] and lastly[24] he compares the Pharisees to the Stoics, and the Essenes to the Pythagoreans. While this last assertion has some truth in it, the other comparisons do not agree with what we hear from others, or elsewhere from himself, about the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. He draws these incorrect comparisons in order to impress the gentile readers with the thought that the Jews too had philosophical schools corresponding to their own. In truth, the Pharisees were, as Wellhausen calls them, the artists of religion, who longed to realize the ideal drawn by the scribes for every Jew. This follows from what Josephus himself says about them: "They are thought to differ from all others by the zeal they bestow on the traditions of our fathers."[25] Similarly Paul says of his early pharisaic days: "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age in my race, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers." Josephus further[26] says of them: "They let all depend upon fate and upon God, and teach that the doing or avoiding of good was almost completely put into the free will of men, but that fate too had its part in every action." This latter expression is by no means

[21] II, 18 [178].
[22] *Antiquities*, XIII, 5, 9 [171].
[23] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 1, 2 [11].
[24] *Ibid.*, XV, 10, 4 [371] and *Life*, 2 [12].
[25] *Life*, 38 [191].
[26] *Wars*, II, 8, 14 [162 f.].

Jewish; but the idea referred to is found in the Judaism of his time, and receives expression in Paul. Lastly, what he tells us of the teaching of the Pharisees about life after death was also common doctrine, namely, that the soul has immortality; that there are beneath the earth rewards and punishments for those who in life give themselves either to virtue or to sin; that eternal imprisonment is the destination of the latter, while for the former there is eternal life.

In this last doctrine the Pharisees were opposed by the Sadducees, who were the representatives of the earlier idea prevailing in the Old Testament, and in other respects, too, rejected the later tradition in favor of the law. Further, Josephus says of the Sadducees:

> They deny fate, asserting that it does not exist at all and cannot form the destinies of men; but they ascribe everything to our own deeds, we ourselves being the originators of our happiness and bringing evil upon ourselves by our own imprudence.

Here he is only trying to find a contrast between the philosophical doctrines of the Pharisees and Sadducees and (as we shall see later on) of the Essenes. In truth, the Sadducees did not theorize at all; they were practical men, politicians, who as such could take only human factors into consideration. Josephus himself alludes to this fact when he says about their teaching that only a few men of the highest position took to it, especially the families to which the high-priests belonged. Therefore we ought not to mention the Pharisees and Sadducees together.

Still less should we put the Essenes as a third party on a similar footing with them; for that was a small party which had not at all the importance of the Pharisees and Sadducees. And, so far as we know, the Essenes did not represent any special philosophy. If Josephus attributes to them faith in an immutable fate, by which the human free will was fully abolished, it is most likely true only that they believed themselves able (as he states in another place) to foretell the future. Also, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul which he attributes to them should perhaps only form a contrast to the faith of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Some scholars think Josephus' whole account of the Essenes to be an interpolation. This may be incapable of proof, but at any rate we ought to be careful in considering the passages mentioned above.

Josephus furnishes to us also various important historical notes, which render the New Testament narrative intelligible and credible. I do not include among these what he relates autobiographically[27] of his fourteenth year, that the high-priests and chief men of the town then visited him to inquire from him about the law. Some scholars compare with this account the story of Jesus in the temple when twelve years of age. Yet in the case of Jesus, he does not teach, but hears and asks questions. Further, the account of Josephus is surely told out of conceit, while the account of the Gospel of Luke is self-explanatory. Rather in the teacher of Josephus, Banus, who lived in the wilderness, clothed himself from the trees, ate what he found growing wild, and by day or night often took a bath in cold water, we can see a counterpart of John the Baptist.

To a still larger degree Josephus' writings offer illustrations of the later life of Paul. For example, in Acts, chap. 21, Paul is saved from being murdered by the excited Jerusalem populace by the Roman soldiers who came down from Antonia to the temple court. We can understand this quick military interference when we learn from Josephus[28] that a division of soldiers was always on guard in the halls surrounding the temple court during the time of the Jewish festivals, when tumults were of frequent occurrence. Again, what Josephus tells us[29] about Albinus reminds us of what we read of Felix in Acts, chap. 24; just as he, to please the Jews, left Paul in prison, so Albinus for the same reason liberated at least the less guilty criminals. Also, the greeting of Paul by the Christians from Rome at the Market of Appius and the Three Taverns[30] has its analogy; according to Josephus,[31] all Roman Jews went to meet Pseudo-Alexander, the pretended son of Herod the Great. And if some are surprised that, according to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, Paul had to wait two years for his verdict, we see in Josephus' autobiography[32] that a similar misfortune befell others. In the year 64 A. D. Josephus traveled to Rome to secure the liberation of some priests who had been sent there by Felix; their trial must therefore have pended for at least three years.

[27] *Life*, 2 [9].
[28] *Antiquities*, XX, 5, 3 [100 f.]; 8, 11 [192].
[29] *Wars*, II, 14, 1 [273]; *Antiquities*, XX, 9, 5 [215].
[30] Acts 28:15. [31] *Antiquities*, XVII, 12, 1 [330 f.]. [32] *Life*, 3 [13 f.].

Further, that Felix did not leave Palestine much earlier than 61 A. D. can be proved (against Eusebius and some modern scholars) from Josephus. As we see from the Acts (and we need not doubt at all the historicity of this statement), Paul, when he was taken prisoner at Jerusalem, was supposed by the tribune Claudius Lysius to be the so-called Egyptian. Now, according to Josephus,[33] this man had appeared not earlier than the reign of Nero—that is to say, after the year 54 A. D. Although Blass, McGiffert, and Turner doubt this statement, it must be considered historical. Then Paul cannot have been taken prisoner earlier than 55 A. D., and Felix cannot have been recalled before 57 A. D. That is to say, we cannot transfer this event to the time from 54 to 56 A. D. Most probably Felix was recalled in the year 61 A. D.[34]

In view of the foregoing arguments we must conclude that these passages of Josephus are unauthentic which are usually made most of as containing the testimony of Josephus to Christianity. But many other passages remain which assist us to understand, and in one point even to correct, the New Testament. We do well at the present time to turn to these Jewish writings which precede or are contemporary with the New Testament—the so-called apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books. We shall do well also if we give full attention to the writings of Josephus. From all these books we can gather much information concerning primitive Christianity.

[33] *Wars*, II, 13, 5 [261 ff.]; *Antiquities*, XX, 8, 6 [169 ff.].

[34] For a full discussion of this problem see my *Paulus: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Giessen, 1904).

THE HASTINGS DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, EXTRA VOLUME[1]

Not the least important series of articles in this supplementary volume is that which deals with the religions of the ancient world. They are voluminous and learned; indeed, they are rather treatises than articles. That on the "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," by Professor Jastrow, covers over fifty pages and is wrought out very carefully. Naturally, to those who are acquainted with the author's admirable *History* of these religions there is little that is new or striking in it, but it is thorough and exhaustive. The new doctrines preached so zealously of late respecting the dependence of Old Testament religion upon that of Babylonia makes this discussion especially timely and valuable.

Wiedemann writes a much shorter article on the "Religion of Egypt," extending over but twenty pages. It does not seem to be quite so satisfactory as it might be made. Its parts are disproportionate, and we miss the discussion of many important points. However, we are grateful for the ample treatment of the cosmogony and the ideas of the future life.

By far the most important of the articles is Ramsay's on the "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor." It is nearly as long as Jastrow's and is full of new material. Here are the most informing discussions of the cults of Asia Minor that we have in English, while the views of the writer on Greek religion are in many points novel and stimulating. The article stands side by side with Meyer's exposition of the same subject in his *Geschichte des Altertums*, recognized by all scholars as the only adequate formulation of the material which has appeared. The relation of this religion to Christianity is given adequate recognition—a phase of the subject which might well have occupied the attention of the writers of the other articles. Jastrow and Wiedemann would have greatly increased the value of their discussions by devoting a section to the problems of the relation of their material to the Old Testament religion. A most important section of the article on the religion of Greece is that on the Apollo cult, which is written by L. R. Farnell, author of *Cults of the Greek States*.

[1] *A Dictionary of the Bible:* Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A. Extra volume, containing Articles, Indexes, and Maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cloth, $6; half Morocco, $8, per volume.

On all these articles we have one general criticism to make, that primarily in their arrangement and secondarily in their choice of materials the writers have not had in mind sufficiently the needs of the great mass of the readers of this *Dictionary*. A well-organized and proportioned history and estimate of these religions and a discussion of their relations to the religion of the Old and New Testament would have been much more useful to such readers than these scholarly, original, and extensive discussions. The scholar will rejoice in these. The seeker for general facts and a broad view will be lost.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

The most important article in this volume from many points of view is that of Professor Kautzsch on the "Religion of Israel" (pp. 612–734). A thorough study of the table of contents of this article is itself a good review of the whole subject. The merits of the treatment are numerous. Among these may be mentioned (1) the fact that the whole subject of Israel's religion is treated in a compact and definite manner, and in a way perfectly intelligible to the fairly intelligent mind; (2) the skill with which the author has presented all important opinions on the various topics, at the same time finding ample opportunity to substantiate his own conclusions; (3) the select bibliography given in footnotes, on every important subject; (4) the strength with which the growth of Israel's religion is presented, each period showing a clear development in the onward progress of thought; (5) the keenness with which fanciful hypotheses are dissected, the positions taken throughout being fairly conservative from the modern point of view; (6) the appreciation shown of the fact that in the whole progress of this wonderful history there has been a guiding Providence; (7) the full and hearty acceptance of the consensus of critical opinion, for one may find here what may certainly be called the *results* of higher criticism as applied to Old Testament religion; (8) the systematic spirit which is manifest throughout, and the real contribution which the article furnishes to the philosophy of history; (9) its comprehensive scope, since it is not only a history of Israel's religion, but also a treatment of biblical theology, an introduction to the Old Testament books, and an exceedingly practical classification of the material of the entire Old Testament field.

Among the most interesting points presented in the article there may be noted the following: the cautious, and indeed negative, position taken in reference to the survivals of totemism, animism, and ancestor-worship. Concerning the latter the author says: "If ancestor-worship ever prevailed in the pre-Mosaic period, no consciousness of this survived to his-

torical times, and the whole question has at best an interest from the point of view of archæology but not of biblical theology."

The author not only concedes the personality of Moses, but regards as unquestionable his position as founder of the Jehovah religion, and places over against the small number of references to Moses in the Prophets and Psalms, not only their late date, but also the fact of the prominent position which tradition ascribes to him in connection with legislation. These ascriptions may not be called forgery, since "it was regarded as a sacred duty to give as Moses' own words anything that had to be promulgated for the good of the people in continuation of his work and in the sense and spirit of his laws (for instance and very especially the legislation of Deuteronomy)." The author grants to the Kenite hypothesis of the origin of the Jehovah-worship much that is worthy of notice, but the considerations which he urges in opposition to it are so numerous and so definite that it is quite evident that he does not count himself among those who have adopted it.

Of especial interest is the important position assigned to Ezekiel. No one has more fully accepted the relationship of Ezekiel's code. These chapters contain "a bold sketch of the future form of the state and the cultus." Ezekiel is a "pioneering genius, a real creator of Judaism in the narrow sense," whose great conception was that of "the establishment of a priestly state, the chief aim of which should be the conserving of the holiness of God." Kautzsch accepts in general the position of Budde on the Servant of Jehovah as presented in the *American Journal of Theology*, 1899, pp. 499 ff., namely, that these passages have as their subject Israel and Israel's call to serve as a missionary to the world. He accepts the collective subject for the "I" of the Psalms as over against the individual; but space does not permit the presentation of further points.

The treatment, considering the space afforded it, is disappointing (1) in the relatively small space given to the Wisdom literature. One must feel that the time has come when this, the "universal" portion of the Old Testament, should be given its proper position and not be passed over hastily in three or four concluding pages. These books contain the highest development of Old Testament thought and as such deserve a more conspicuous position in any general treatment. (2) It also fails to deal specifically with the question of the place of Amos and Hosea. To be sure, in view of the position taken concerning Moses, and the development of Old Testament thought that precedes Amos and Hosea, these prophets no longer occupy the position that has been assigned them by many modern critics. In this general position we think that Kautzsch is cor-

rect; but, notwithstanding this, these two prophets occupy a unique place in the development of thought, and as such might have received possibly a more specific consideration.

It is unfortunate that this article cannot be printed separately as a textbook; for, as has already been said, a more admirable resumé of the problems of the Old Testament field can hardly be imagined. It is quite true that the teacher of the Bible and the preacher can well afford to purchase the series of five volumes in order to obtain this particular article.

The seven-page treatment of the subject "Semites," by Professor McCurdy contains a large amount of valuable material. It is distinctly to the advantage of the biblical student that the treatment is wholly from the biblical point of view. In other words, everything is presented in a way that will count to the largest benefit of the Bible student. Moreover, the treatment is cautious throughout, perhaps too cautious, although the position taken on all important questions may be termed distinctly modern. The classification of the various Semitic nations into southern Semites, including northern Arabians, and Sabæans, with the Abyssinians as an offshoot; and northern Semites, including Babylonians and Assyrians, Aramæans and Canaanites, with the Hebrews as an offshoot, is recognized as unsatisfactory.

The author may be somewhat too dogmatic in his statement concerning the Sumerian question; that is, the precedence of the Babylonian civilization by that of another race. But his statement concerning the substitution of the word "Abyssinian" for "Ethiopian," on the ground that the Abyssinians are thoroughly Semitic, while the Ethiopians were for the most part African, is strong, and the place which he accords to the Aramæans and the Sabæans is in accordance with the latest views. One regrets that in speaking of the recent researches concerning the Sabæans he did not give the important references, and, indeed, throughout the article no reference to modern discussions of the various questions propounded is to be found. The bibliography at the close of the article is inadequate. It is uncertain whether the author has omitted reference to the very attractive Muçri hypothesis, of which so much is being made in these days, intentionally or from oversight. No mention is made of the recent Jerahmeel activity.

His characterization of the Babylonians as the primary intellectual movers of the world is interesting, and his theory that the Assyrians give us the purest Semitic racial type, while, on the other hand, the Hebrews, even before they became a nation, were of an exceedingly mixed blood, deserves the closest consideration. The present writer has long been

of the opinion that the best explanation of the supreme position occupied by the Jews of today is to be found in the fact that no nation of antiquity absorbed from other nations to such an extent, or for so long a period, as did the Hebrews. This statement will hold true in any case of the Semitic nations, no one of which shows such a racial admixture as does the Jewish. When we recall their Arabian origin, their affinity to the Babylonians, their intimate relations with the Aramæans, their long residence in Egypt, and their amalgamation with the Canaanites, we have a composite type which, after a long period, settled down under the name "Hebrew." Dr. McCurdy is right in not treating the Hebrews as one of the divisions of the northern Semites, inasmuch as they in a sense come out from and represent all others.

An admirable survey is given of Semitic history and the inter-relations of the Semitic nations. It is possible that in this survey a strong preference is shown for the northern Semites. The characterization of the relationship of Palestine to the various nations, through a period of twenty-five centuries or more under Babylonian control, from the fifteenth to the ninth century under Egypt, the Hittites, and in relation to the Syrians; and then from the ninth to the seventh under the supremacy of the Assyrians—this whole treatment is thoroughly clear and definite.

Perhaps no part of the article is more satisfactory than that which relates to the Canaanites, in which, sketch though it is, the picture of the Aramæan nationality in its relations to all the other Semitic nations is wholly true. But the climax of the article is to be found in the closing section of the characteristics of the Semites. Their fundamental characteristic is a civilization of nomadic origin. Of this the author says: "The correct estimate . . . . can be gained only by the use of the imagination trained in the inductions of prehistoric archæology." Before their separation they had learned something of the practical uses of metals. They were students of nature, including both animal and plant life. They had adopted some form of writing. They had no law and no creed, but "the religious habit and consciousness had found copious expression." The prevailing form of political life was that of city kingdoms, and the relation between the various states was marked by mutual repulsion. The Semites "were religious rather than moral, patient, resolute, enduring, brave, serious; faithful to friends, implacable toward foes; they have borne the stamp of tribalism all through history." They gave the world no dramatic or epic literature, but a lyric poetry unequaled. They exhibited no interest in science or the pictorial arts. They had no philosophy of their own, but attained eminence in gnomic wisdom. They were not able to look

about them far or high; they could see only one thing at a time, and they made the mistake of accepting the part for the whole. A race of few occupations and of great limitations, in their history they have shown themselves to be either "the most beneficent or the most noxious of our species."

In this general treatment Dr. McCurdy has sustained his reputation as a philosopher of history.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

Professor Morris Jastrow's "Races of the Old Testament" deals in an exceedingly able and ingenious manner with the biblical material which bears on this fascinating and perplexing subject. There is nothing controversial at any point, yet his results are startling, or would have been twenty-five years ago. The successive waves of Semitic migration are traced from the race's probable home in Arabia, to the Euphrates, and thence to Syria and the sea. Some Semites are shown to have crossed to Egypt, while others entered the Mesopotamian valley and founded the empires of Babylonia and Assyria. Though he is sometimes too ingenious to be convincing, as in his treatment of the Isaac narratives and the explanation of Simeon's captivity in Egypt as a tribal settlement, it is in the combinations that the writer's insight and skill is displayed. The ethnography of the biblical writers is almost purely Semitic, not always consciously so, but the world in which they moved was peopled with Semitic races, whom they classified according to their geographical position or their racial prejudices. There may be doubt as to the origin of the Amorites, but the Canaanites are undoubtedly Semitic, and before them Palestine had probably known a Semitic population. Some might think it necessary to question whether the patriarchs were individuals, eponymous heroes, or personified tribes. Not so Dr. Jastrow; for him the movements of the early chapters of Genesis are all tribal or national. The Hebrews came as the last wave of Semitic immigration, a complex of tribes, some of which relapsed into primitive Semitic barbarism, like the Edomites. While others absorbed the culture of their new home and forsook the tents of the nomad. The aspersions upon the ancestry of Moab and Ammon but reflect the fierceness of the early days of colonization and conquest. The discussion of the famous tenth chapter of Genesis is brilliant and thorough. The great value of the document is recognized, its reflection of a wide ethnic knowledge is manifest, but its importance does not consist in its scientific character any more than does that of Genesis, chap. 1. It reveals to us the ancient world of the ninth and tenth centuries B. C.; it is a picture of the surging tide of nations at a moment of transition; its horizon is

bounded on the west by the shores of the Ægean, on the east by the Median highlands, while the north and the south are open and undefined. The favored race is Shem, yet it is a Shem of the spirit rather than of the flesh. The touchstone of the world is its relation to the Hebrew race, and, according as that question is answered, the nations are classed as descendants of Japheth or as children of Ham.

The "Samaritan Pentateuch" is a curious survival from the days of Ezra. Compared with the Hebrew, its language is decadent. Professor Ed. König accounts for its differences from the Massoretic text and its similarities to the LXX by the influence of later scribism. This, however, would make the present text the last of a series of recensions. The Samaritan Pentateuch itself is to be distinguished from the Samaritan Targum, a product of the second century A. D.

Professor W. H. Bennett's article on "Wages" shows how small is the evidence of anything like a wage-scale in Old Testament times. Where slavery was the rule, the hireling had little chance. We move in a different atmosphere in the New Testament. Under the influence of Roman law, economic forces operated more normally. The writer's treatment of his material is broad, discussing, as he does, the remuneration of priest and soothsayer, as well as of artisan and day laborer.

In "Ships and Boats" Rear-Admiral R. M. Blomfield presents a fund of lore nautical and archæological. The Hebrews, not naturally a seafaring folk, came in contact with those who did business in great waters, and the sacred writers show familiarity with the technicalities of sea-craft. Egypt and Tyre were naval schools for western Asia; therefore the writer gives a description of the Egyptian merchant vessels which made sundry expeditions to the far-away land of Punt. Sennacherib's war-vessels were from Tyrian models. The most famous sea-tale of the ancient world is Paul's voyage and shipwreck, and here the historian's accurate nautical terminology receives new illustration. The story of how they beat up against the wind and frapped the ship, how they jettisoned the cargo, and later how the sailors made a pretense of laying out the bower anchors, betrays the close observer and the eye-witness. Admiral Blomfield has well exemplified the fresh interest which archæology contributes even to the more recondite departments of Bible study.

Professor Buhl in "Roads and Travel in the Old Testament" shows how the history of a country is written by its highways. The shuttles that wove the fabric of the ancient civilization of the East used to ply up and down the thoroughfares of Syria. Trails we should call many of those ancient roads today, yet caravans and armies, as well as the solitary traveler,

have used them from prehistoric ages, and the deliberate choice of man, when seeking the shortest distance between two points, leaves a trace as enduring as that of rushing torrents. The admirable map which accompanies the article is itself eloquent with the voices of the past, and we can almost hear the tramp of armies as we trace the ancient road from Nineveh to Harrân, thence, through the Entering in of Hamath, to the sea and Egypt; we can almost hear the polyglot hum of traffic as we thread the network of lines which mark the paths over which the sons of the East bore the products of their looms, their mines, or their forests to Memphis and Thebes. The roads of Palestine itself, up and down which Philistines made their forays, over which Isaiah saw the Assyrian invader marching, and in whose windings the Maccabean heroes entrapped their foes, have each a story to tell of the nation's life; and no less vivid and important, if quieter, are the wayside tales of the foot-traveler who followed the beaten track in search of service or of fugitives, and of the bands which Amos could see from the heights of Tekoa streaming along the pilgrim road to Beersheba. Geography is indeed the handmaid of history.

The "Code of Hammurabi" is treated by C. H. W. Johns. Since the publication of the *Editio princeps* of this remarkable monument in October, 1902, the literature of the subject has grown to large proportions. Mr. Johns is thoroughly competent to discuss all the problems of the code, for he was among the first in the field with description and criticism. His present treatment possesses therefore special value. The analysis of the code is exhaustive, the text with its references to the Old Testament is of immense value to the student, and we are particularly indebted to the writer for his comparison of the code with early Hebrew legislation and his views as to the character of this connection. Similarities are obvious. According to one theory, the Hebrew was directly dependent upon the Babylonian; according to another, the codes are independent, and racial affinity is sufficient to account for likenesses. The writer accepts neither view in its entirety, and his theory seems founded on sound philosophical and ethnological principles. Neither code, according to him, reflects the result of the "continuous evolution of law in a homogeneous people." Two races came together in Babylonia, and the customs of one were superimposed upon the other; two peoples contested the possession of Palestine; the legal system of the invader was grafted upon the native stock; yet this latter, centuries before, had been influenced by Babylonia. The two recensions are independent; yet, though the Code of Hammurabi was not a creative source, there was a genetic relation between it and the Hebrew, due to common racial inheritance, to which are to be added like precedent

conditions in the two countries. Viewed thus the Code of Hammurabi becomes not merely a juridical monument; it is, as well, a monument of ethnic struggles and triumphs.

A. S. CARRIER.

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Among the articles dealing in a general way with the contemporary history of the New Testament the first place for succinctness and yet completeness is to be given to those by Frants Buhl on "New Testament Times" and that of E. Schürer on the "Diaspora." The articles show a comprehensive grasp of social, economic, and religious conditions quite as truly as of the more external matters. Professor Buhl rather paradoxically thinks that it was more difficult to maintain Judaism in its purity against Greek influences in Palestine than among the Jews of the Dispersion. It does not seem to us that this thesis is to be easily maintained, in the light of what we know of the Jewish life of Palestine and of the Dispersion. That there were Greek influences at work everywhere in Palestine cannot be doubted, but this fact by no means contradicts the more pronounced Hellenism of the dispersion described in the article on the "Diaspora" by Schürer. This article is probably the most remarkable one that has yet appeared on the subject. Covering as it does a field altogether too little known among New Testament students, it is a veritable thesaurus of information as to the entire life of the Jews among the gentiles. Especially important are the sections dealing with the right of citizenship and the position of the Jews in the Roman state. With the two articles by Buhl and Schürer at hand, the biblical student has a *vade mecum* for the history of New Testament times.

The articles dealing in a broad way with the literature hardly have opportunity for such breadth of treatment as those already mentioned, but the paper by Henry St. John Thackeray upon "Josephus," of Rendel Harris upon the "Sibylline Oracles," James Drummond upon "Philo," and S. Schechter upon "The Talmud" are singularly informing. In all the wealth of treatises dealing with the Alexandrian Jewish literature, Drummond's must be ranked among the best. Our interest naturally centers upon the Logos, but the matter is not discussed as fully as we should like, in view of the fact that it is the one matter which gives significance to Philo's work. Professor Drummond mentions some of the differences between the Johannine and the Philonian Logos, but a single paragraph is hardly sufficient to render the subject justice. A

somewhat similar criticism might be placed on President Schechter's treatise on the Talmud. The relation of rabbinic thought to the New Testament is not mentioned, the author holding himself strictly to an introduction to that enormous mass of literary survivals. As such it is very usable for those who already have some knowledge of the matter. For other persons it is likely to prove confusing for the very wealth of information it contains. The article by Professor Harris on the Sibylline Oracles is brief and superficial. It is largely given up to discussions of the relation of the Sibyllines to classic literature and seems to ignore the fact that the work has any particular importance for the student of Jewish thought in its bearing upon Christian teaching and hope.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

While the reconstruction of Tatian's life, e. g., the duration of his residence at Rome, is not entirely satisfactory, Mr. Stenning's discussion of the "Diatessaron" is in general full, clear, and precise. He holds with Baethgen that the Sinaitic Syriac (*ca.* 150) is older than the Diatessaron, and was used in its formation, while the Curetonian is later (third century). The Diatessaron was composed in Syriac in the eighth decade of the second century, soon after Tatian's return from the west. Mr. Stenning recognizes the Armenian version of Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron, the Latin harmony discovered by Victor of Capua (Codex Fuldensis), and the Arabic version published by Ciasca as trustworthy sources for its recovery; although the last seems to have been influenced by the Peshitto.

Professor Bartlet's elaborate treatment of the "Didache" is less clearly organized. We should have preferred to see Schlecht's Latin recognized along with the single Greek manuscript as a principal witness to the text, instead of being ranked with Barnabas and the Apostolic Church Ordinances as subsidiary. The relation of the Didache to Barnabas, as represented, involves precarious and artificial premises. The date assigned to Barnabas—early in the reign of Vespasian—although more than doubtful, underlies the whole discussion of the date both of the original Didache (or, as the author persists in calling it, the *Two Ways*)—*ca.* 70—and of the fuller Didache—probably 80–90, certainly before 100. The temple-building datum of chap. 16 is misunderstood and underestimated. It is not quite true that Clement of Alexandria quotes the Didache explicitly and calls it Scripture (p. 442). Professor Bartlet is right in holding that the fuller Didache is a later development of the short form exhibited by the Latin, yet he seems at an earlier point (p. 441) to predicate "integrity" of this fuller form. We cannot think that the problem presented by the

Didache—so transformed by the discovery of the Latin—has been rightly or consistently conceived by Professor Bartlet.

No one could have been found better qualified than Mr. Kenyon to write on "Papyri." If he has erred at all, it is in a too modest valuation of the papyri for the study of the Greek of the New Testament.

Mr. Turner's long article on "Greek Patristic Commentaries" on the Pauline epistles is a learned and comprehensive treatment of a very large subject. An index of the Fathers discussed helpfully supplements the article.

Dr. Murray's article on the "Textual Criticism of the New Testament" exhibits the problem and method of that science. His findings are in full accord with those of Westcott and Hort, whom he repeatedly and successfully defends against the criticisms of Mr. Miller and Professor Salmon.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

It was well to include in this volume of miscellanies one example of that form of critical and exegetical study of the New Testament for which the *Dictionary* as a whole stands, and no better selection could have been made to illustrate these principles than the "Sermon on the Mount." Professor Votaw presents fairly and accurately the moderate liberalism, or open-minded conservatism, which has, in general, guided the editors in their selection of contributors. The author of this article holds, with the majority of those who belong to this school of thought, that Jesus actually delivered a sermon containing the outline of his new doctrine, and that the contents of this sermon are preserved in the reports found in the first and third gospels, though some words of Jesus uttered on other occasions have been incorporated, especially in Matthew's report of the sermon, and some sentences attributed to Jesus had suffered considerable change in oral tradition, before the gospels were written. Professor Votaw has read widely in the literature which treats upon his subject; and his exegesis, which does not claim much originality, is clear and thoughtful. If any criticism, not altogether favorable, should be made, it is that the tone of the article is somewhat too sermonical for such a publication, and that the style sometimes tends to prolixity; as, for example, on pp. 9 and 10.

Professor Ropes's thorough equipment for the discussion of the subject of the "Agrapha" was already well known to New Testament students from his scholarly and judicious volume, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, published in 1896, while he was a student in Germany. This article is, however, no mere condensation of the earlier volume. The discussion is new and fresh, the classification of the sayings attributed to Jesus differs from that previously given, the sayings of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus published in 1897 are included

in the article (unfortunately the contents of the second leaf were not published until after this article was completed) and fifty-one agrapha from Mohammedan sources are added which "are chiefly of merely curious interest." Professor Ropes holds conservative views with regard to these reputed words of Jesus. Of the sixty-six agrapha which he has gathered from late and inferior manuscripts of the gospels, and from other parts of the New Testament, from early Christian writings, and from the Mishna, he marks but ten with an asterisk as those which "seem with considerable probability to possess historical value," omitting four from the similar list given in his earlier treatise. One is surprised that the star appears before none of the Oxyrhynchus Logia. Four of the ten are from New Testament sources. It is possible that this number should be somewhat increased, yet the majority who are familiar with the subject will accept the conclusion that "the authors of the first and third gospels gathered up practically all that the church in general possessed of traditions of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ."

As the article upon the Agrapha had quoted and translated the more important fragments which have been preserved from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," little remained for Professor Menzies beyond giving the evidence of the existence of such a gospel and expressing his opinions concerning the date of its composition, its relation with the gospel of Matthew, and its intrinsic worth. He holds that the confusing, if not conflicting, testimonies of Jerome all refer to the same document, that his apparent identification of it, in one passage, with the original of Matthew's gospel shows that it resembled our first gospel; but that his claim that he translated it into Greek and Latin proves that it differed considerably from the canonical Matthew. It is a fair question whether Jerome's different statements are not more consistent with the theory that the document which he translated was, indeed, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, but that besides this he had some acquaintance, perhaps by mere hearsay, with another document which may have been a translation of the whole or a part of our Matthew into a Semitic tongue. Professor Menzies thinks that this gospel may have come into existence about the time of the synoptic gospels, but he does not accept the high estimate of its value recently advocated by Oscar Holtzmann.

In "Apocryphal Gospels" Professor Tasker gives a condensed and clear account of the various extra-canonical gospels, whose contents or whose titles have been preserved. He classes them under four divisions: (1) "gospels (or fragments of gospels) which, in the opinion of some critics, embody an early tradition and rival the canonical gospels;" (2) "gospels

which claim to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the parents of Jesus, or of his infancy and childhood;" (3) "gospels whose heretical origin is universally acknowledged;" (4) "gospels of which almost nothing is known except their name." This classification is convenient and, as worked out, is more scientific than the titles of the divisions may suggest. The discussion of the fragment of the Gospel according to Peter and that of the Fayûm gospel fragment are especially interesting. He does not think it proved that either Justin Martyr or Tatian was acquainted with Peter's gospel, and he seems to approve "the judgment of eminent palæographists" that the style of writing and methods of contraction employed in the Fayûm fragment furnish a strong argument for fixing the date of its composition in the third century.

There is nothing in this "Extra Volume" more interesting than the elaborate and learned article by Professor Ramsay on "Roads and Travel in the New Testament," covering more than twenty-five large pages and illustrated by two beautiful maps, besides the map giving the road system of Palestine which is bound into the volume as a frontispiece. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Friedländer and others, but it is evident on every page that, as a traveler and a scholar, he has, with entire independence and unwearied diligence, searched every source of information upon the subject. The interest of the writer centers, of course, in the journeys of the apostle Paul, and the article makes vivid both the difficulties and the dangers, and, at the same time, the possibility, of these long tours by land and sea of the missionary traveler. In harmony with his well-known views, Dr. Ramsay takes the Acts as a reliable account of these journeys. One hesitates to follow him when, on pp. 380 and 398, he makes the readings of the "Western text" his guide and the basis of his calculation of the time consumed in such journeys. A somewhat fuller account of the construction of Roman roads than that given on p. 393 would have added to the interest for the ordinary reader. In an article which contains so much information it may seem ungracious to ask for more, but it is its very excellence which provokes this desire.

WILLIAM H. RYDER.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Exploration and Discovery

SENKEREH, THE RUINS OF ANCIENT LARSA

At 6:50 o'clock on the morning of December 4, Sheik Ajil, still remembering our conversation of the previous morning on Arab hospitality, appeared in the doorway of the telegraph office at Derajieh with the horses which we were to ride to Senkereh. The ruin is not properly on Ajil's land, but since the recent battle with Saadun he lays claim to it. However, to insure our safety, or to provide an excuse to demand a greater *baksheesh*, he procured an Arab from the Montifik to assist his eunuch in protecting us. It had rained heavily during the night, and the water-soaked surface of the desert somewhat impeded our progress. After two hours we crossed a belt of drifting sand, and half an hour later arrived at the ruins.

The ruins of Larsa are almost circular in shape and are not far from a mile in diameter. The low edges fall away gradually into the desert, and, as far as I could see, bear no traces of a surrounding wall. The main features of the ruins are two large hills, one near the northern edge, the other at the southern. A little to the east of the northern hill is one of lesser height, and in various places are low ridges. As we approached the base of the northern hill, I saw in a shallow hole, which had been excavated by some Arab antiquity-digger, a large black stone of peculiar shape, and, dismounting to examine it, I found it to be a section of the trunk of a nearly life-size dolomite statue. The fragment measured 1 m. in circumference and 34 cm. in height. Its polished surface had been partly chipped away, yet on its front appeared the same style of dress embroidery as is found upon several of the Tel Loh statues, and also three characters of a defaced inscription. Three smaller fragments which were lying in the same place indicated that the inscription had been intentionally defaced by the Arab who found it. The cuneiform shape of the characters, which are deeply and carefully cut, the style of dress, and the general appearance of the statue all point to the age of the Ur-Gur, whose bricks are scattered everywhere on the surface of the mound. I was tempted to carry away the heavy stones, but, as it was impossible under the circumstances, we buried them to save them from further destruction.

On the summit of the northern hill, about 18 m. above the plain, the walls of the temple of the sun-God Shamash still remain as Loftus left them fifty years ago; and a little to the north are the ruins of the fallen

Ziggurat. From that point one may see the saddest sight in all Babylonia. Everywhere on the surface are thousands of shapeless holes dug by the neighboring Arabs in their search for antiquities. These illicit diggers, as they burrow through the ground sometimes to the depth of several meters, tear up walls, destroy the fragile tablets, break open the valuable stone objects in the hope of finding gold within, and make such havoc with the surface of the ruin that it becomes but a mass of confusion to the



THE TEMPLE HILL, BUWERIGE
Showing the layers in the construction of the Ziggurat. Taken from the south.

scientific explorer. The few antiquities which are found, usually seal cylinders, go to add to those already on the necklace of an Arab female, or fall into the hands of the Jewish antiquity-dealers of Bagdad. Occasionally some of them find their way to the museums of Europe, but even then half of their value is lost, as their history is unknown. The Turkish authorities make no effort to check this wholesale and unnecessary destruction. Fortunately, the illicit digging at Senkereh has thus far been confined largely to the temple and its vicinity.

For several hours we wandered over the ruins, examining the foundations of the buildings which are exposed on the surface, picking up the little fragments of stone and clay, indications of what may be concealed beneath, and photographing the points of interest. The large irregular hill at the south, quite as high and extensive as the one at the north, seems to have

remained untouched by both Loftus and the modern Arabs. While standing on its summit, I saw the *kavass* Mohammed, with a heavy object wrapped up in his red handkerchief, hurrying toward me. He had found a beautifully polished black-stone door-socket. Unfortunately, it was uninscribed, but with it he had brought dozens of fragments of corroded bronze. While examining them to discover the object which they originally composed, I found among them a small inscribed fragment of a large barrel cylinder. He had found all these objects on the little conical mound east of the temple, and we hurried there to make other finds.

The summit of the mound is covered with cinders, giving evidence that the building of which it is the ruin was burned. About the slopes were distinctly visible the peculiar lines which in damp or frosty weather appear upon the surface and show as if by magic the walls, and sometimes the entire plan, of the building below. Mohammed had found the fragments of bronze on the southern slope near a line representing an outer wall of unusual width. After an hour of exciting search, we had found twenty-two fragments of a large, hollow barrel cylinder. Possibly, when opportunity to put them together and to study them is presented, they may prove to be a duplicate of the three cylinders which Loftus discovered in the temple fifty years ago. The connection of the clay fragments with the copper, the shape of the copper, and especially of the nails or rivets which could have been used only in a wood-lined case, would indicate that the cylinder had originally been deposited in a copper case.

Senkereh, like Warka, has long had the reputation of being an ancient necropolis, but on the surface I saw no fragments of slipper-shaped coffins. Among the innumerable bricks, and Senkereh is a veritable brick-kiln, the occasional flint saws and marble vase fragments, point to ruins of the most ancient period not far from the surface. The most familiar brick inscription is that of Ur-Gur, and indeed, with the possible exception of Nebuchadnezzar, this early king of Ur was probably the greatest of all the Babylonian builders. A crudely molded brick, which appears everywhere on the surface, measures $24 \times 15.5 \times 7.5$. One common on the east side of the ruin bears a stamp consisting of a circle within a circle; the diameter of the stamp is 16.5 cm. A little to the east of the small conical hill is a well, the opening of which is 1.65 m. in diameter. Its wall, which is 85 cm. thick, is constructed of two rows of truncated triangular bricks. Those of the outer row measure 49 cm. in length, 39 cm. in their greatest width, and 8 cm. in thickness.

The success of the day's visit brought with it the conviction that of all the ruins in Babylonia, Senkereh is the most promising, and the traces of

digging and the reports of the Arabs confirm this impression. It is much smaller than Warka, larger than Fara, and in size and in the amount of labor required for its excavation is not unlike Mugheir or Bismya. The Shatt-el-Kar which is said to pass it is at the present time nowhere visible, nor did I see anything which resembles the bed of a canal. Water in the low ground should not be difficult to obtain. The tales of pestilential fevers which constantly threaten the life of the Babylonian explorer, are, I fancy, half mythical, or the disease may be averted with ordinary precaution.

Before sunset we were again at Derajieh. To our surprise, Sheik Ajil expressed the hope that we would excavate at Senkereh, and offered us protection if ever we should come again, but in his tone we could almost hear the ring of the Frank *mejidiehs*. He said that when he was a boy seven years old, three Englishmen, who were excavating at Warka, spent the nights in his father's tent, and that he was so frightened that he would not leave his father's side. The old sheik has grown in bravery these fifty years, for, were Loftus to reappear, the Arab would no longer be overcome with fear. The greatest danger with which the excavator at Senkereh would likely meet is Ajil himself. Although the sun was setting, we were not sorry to leave him, and, getting into our bitumen boat, we floated down the Euphrates. The next morning at daylight the palms of Nasarieh were visible on the horizon before us, and in the desert at the right the ruins of Ur of the Chaldees.

EDGAR JAMES BANKS.

BAGDAD,
January 18, 1905.

Work and Workers

Professor Francis G. Peabody, dean of the Divinity School of Harvard University, is to deliver a course of lectures at the University of Berlin on "The Ethics of Social Questions." This is done in accordance with the wish of the emperor to establish an exchange of university lecturers between Germany and America.

It is interesting to note the work of Egyptian scholars in the Orient: Professor Petrie is with an expedition in the peninsula of Sinai exploring the old mines there; Professor Steindorff, of Leipzig, is excavating the great pyramids of Gizeh; Mr. Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, has recently discovered at Thebes a magnificent tomb containing superb furniture. He has found there a complete Egyptian chariot with wheels and pole.

The Phillips Brooks House Association, organized in 1904 "to unite members of Harvard University who are interested in religious, philanthropic, or other activities," has this winter conducted ten informal classes for Bible-study, with a total average weekly attendance of eighty.

President Charles Cuthbert Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, has been reappointed to the Haskell lectureship of the University of Chicago. These lectures on religion are to be delivered in India during the winter of 1906–7, and probably also in China and Japan.

Dr. Alexander McLaren, the famous Manchester preacher, is about to publish the second volume of his *Expositions of Isaiah*. The first volume has had an extraordinary sale, and the entire work promises to be a most popular publication on the great Hebrew prophet.

Professor Frank Knight Sanders, dean of the divinity school of Yale University, and professor of Old Testament interpretation, has accepted the call of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society to become its administrative secretary. Dr. Sanders will have directing charge of the Sunday-school publications of the denomination, and also will supervise the book trade of the house. He has long been interested in the problems of Bible-teaching. He has been a writer of biblical lessons for religious journals, and was the first president of the Religious Education Association. Dr. Sanders' fellow-workers in biblical study and theological teaching will regret his departure from their ranks, while they wish him the largest success in the work on which he enters.

Current Opinion

The Christian Attitude toward Divorce

The April number of the *Homiletical Review* contains an article by Rev. W. E. Barton on "The Minister's Attitude toward Divorce," which, though too brief to do full justice to the subject, is well worthy of attention. Recognizing that, on the basis of sound criticism the phrase "except for fornication" in Matt. 5:32 and 19:9 cannot with certainty, or even probability, be ascribed to Jesus, he maintains at the same time that Jesus did not in this matter, any more than in any other, lay down a rule, but enunciated the principle, to which there is no exception, that he who puts away his wife for trivial causes violates the sanctity of the home. Dealing with the practical aspect of the case, Dr. Barton contends, on the one hand, that adultery is not always a justifiable ground of divorce, and, on the other that there are causes other than adultery which under some circumstances justify the severance of the marriage tie, and argues that each case must be judged on its own merits rather than on the basis of a fixed rule. We question whether Dr. Barton has stated the principle of Jesus' teaching quite accurately, but his criticism of the too prevalent attitude of the ministry toward the matter is thoroughly sound, and his practical suggestions are excellent. He is quite right in saying that it is time for a sensible consideration of the divorce question. He might have added that the ordinary ecclesiastical position is critically, exegetically, and ethically unsound.

The Kingdom of God, Future or Present?

The tendency of criticism for some years past, as is well known, has been strongly toward the view advocated by Johann Weiss, and adopted by Bousset and others, that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom was fundamentally eschatological, that he conceived of it, not as to be developed through the gradual working of immanent forces, but as coming suddenly. But though winning many adherents, and seeming almost to sweep all before it, this view has not been without opponents who have still held to the view of the kingdom as immanent and present, which in his day Ritschl did so much to make the dominant one. Thus in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1903, p. 445, Schürer wrote, "The kingdom of God

was not to come suddenly and visibly, but gradually and unobserved. . . . . As the seed grows gradually, as the leaven gradually permeates the whole, so the kingdom of God develops gradually from small beginnings to ever larger compass, and more and more permeates all world-relations. These parables are directed with polemical intent against the Jewish conception and are intended to correct it. According to the Jewish conception, the present and the future ages are separated by a sharp dividing line, and a complete transformation of things is to be brought about by a miraculous divine intervention. For Jesus the essential good is not this external transformation, but the working of the grace of God under the then existing conditions. In the activitiy of Jesus the kingdom of God is already present in its beginnings." In a more recent issue of the same journal, February, 1905, Fr. Traub, of the Evangelical Theological Seminary at Schöntal, returns to the discussion of the question, and defends the same thesis more at length. Accepting the principles which Jülicher lays down and Weiss accepts for the interpretation of parables, Traub points out that the parable of the Mustard Seed, for example, is without convincing or comforting power for those who need encouragement in view of the small beginnings of the Kingdom, if the point of the parable lies simply in the contrast of small beginnings, and large future; since many a small thing remains forever small. It becomes of value only by virtue of an analogy between the Kingdom and the mustard seed in that both have living power, are endowed with inherent vitality, hence with the power of growth and expansion. It cannot be mere accident, but must reflect Jesus' own thought, that in the parables of the seed growing of itself, the mustard seed, and the leaven, he chose as illustrations of the nature of the Kingdom, three things of all of which it is characteristic, not simply that being small they become great, but that they become great by virtue of a power resident in them, and not by the operation of external power upon them. And this, which is so manifestly suggested by the common characteristic of the three parables, is definitely expressed and emphasized in the parable of the seed growing itself, in the word "of itself" (αὐτομάτη). For this is, too obviously to be mistaken, the emphatic term in the parables. Thus far Traub. In all this there is doubtless only a restatement of what has been said before in defense of this general view. Doubtless also the ultimate decision of this difficult question must rest upon far broader ground than the exegesis of these parables, concerning which treated by itself it may well be impossible to say a final word. The article is significant as indicating that the controversy is not closed, the final verdict not yet rendered.

Book Reviews.

An Outline of a Bible-School Curriculum. By GEORGE WILLIAM PEASE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 418. $1.50.

This is a most timely book. It follows naturally the more general work on the *Principles and Ideals for the Sunday School*, 1903, from the same press. Sunday-school problems embrace curriculum, methods of teaching, textbooks and works of reference, school management, and architecture. This book deals with the first three of these questions. Curriculum is fundamental. It must be determined first. Just now every teacher interested in graded Sunday schools is asking for a curriculum worked out in detail. Here is a curriculum divided into courses, or "topics," with specimen "suggestive lessons" and lists of books for both teachers and pupils for every grade. The matter is very clearly grouped, tabulated, and summarized. But an index in addition would be a grateful convenience. The bibliographies are abundant and valuable, and embrace works traditional and modern with great impartiality. They should be worth the price of the book to Sunday-school teachers.

The main features of the curriculum will command general assent. Professor Pease proposes stories for kindergarten and primary grades, history for pupils of nine years of age and upward, and Christian evidences and beliefs and ethnic religions for classes of college and riper age. The character-stories of the Bible are reserved happily for children of from six to eight. Nature-stories precede them in abundance. Fairy-stories and fables are conspicuously absent, probably because trust in God, rather than obedience to others, is conceived as the religious aim of the kindergarten and primary grades. The historical courses embrace biblical, missionary, and other Christian biography, and the history of biblical literature and Christian thought. The period of more than four hundred years succeeding the time of Nehemiah is omitted, excepting as an elective for adult classes. The courses in biblical biography are concentric in arrangement. "Genesis" to "Nehemiah" are prescribed for pupils of both nine and thirteen years of age, the life of Christ for those of ten and fourteen, and apostolic history for those of eleven, fifteen, and seventeen. The reasons for this arrangement are not clear. If two years be assigned

to a subject, why should they not be consecutive and the matter divided between them? If repetition be sought, it is sufficiently provided for already by using the biblical narratives for stories for young children, for biographies for older children, and for a more critical historical study for adults. If two years without a New Testament course be the objection, surely a truly religious study of the Old Testament must be prosecuted with a thorough-going comparison with any later thought and achievement, which parallel, correct, or surpass that Testament's positions. This is the method of Sunday-school teaching pursued by liberal Judaism. If the religious development of the Hebrews be according to nature, the modern child repeats it; and some of it is better repeated vicariously in reading and corrected before certain impulses become father to the deed. If conscience-building belongs to the school age preceding adolescence, then, if ever, Old Testament history, with its constant appeal to the reasonableness of obedience to God, should be taught. New Testament history should follow with its appeal to the nascent altruism of adolescence.

The treatment of biblical history is entirely uncritical, as the author remarks. The religious aims of the curriculum are conceived on traditional lines. The trustworthiness of God as "Workman," "Ruler," "Character-Former" and "Source of Truth" is proposed as the subject of study. Trust in God and the salvation of one's own soul are made primary in purpose, if not in time. Obedience and service are to follow as a consequence. Parts I and II of the doctrinal course elaborated for youths of nineteen are purely individualistic. Part III is upon social service.

Of manual methods we have picture-pasting and text, narrative and thesis-writing, excellently arranged for home work. Copying of blackboard sketches is prescribed, but not original illustrative drawing, whereas even children of five often prefer this to copy work. The sand-table has a place for scenic work in the primary grades. It is not recommended for map-molding in higher grades. No map-making of any kind by pupils is advocated.

"Search work" is a welcome contribution to Sunday-school nomenclature. It is doubtful, however, if "Bible school" is an improvement upon "Sunday school," especially as those who favor the term, including Professor Pease himself, advocate a curriculum which will embrace more than biblical literature. "Junior," "intermediate," and "senior," for names of departments, are cast-off terms of the common school, which might as well be anticipated in the adoption of "primary" for Grades I–VI and "secondary" for Grades VII–XII.

This book will prove of great practical service to many Sunday-school

teachers because it is specific, and should be suggestive to students of religious education because of its scope and detail. It is too timely not to be read now.

RICHARD MORSE HODGE.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
New York.

The Story of the Bible Told for Young and Old. By REV. JESSE L. HURLBUT, D.D. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1904. Pp. 750. $2.50, net.

The author of this book, now a pastor in Morristown, N. J., was for many years editor of the Sunday-school publications of the Methodist Episcopal church. In this office he became one of the best-known and most influential Sunday-school men of America. His experience and his natural qualifications eminently fit him to prepare a book of Bible stories such as the children will like and use. He believes that there is need for a "Child's Bible," if children are to be interested in the Book of books. Out of the mass of matter in the Bible which interests students only, such as history, genealogy, details of law and customs of worship, psalms, prophecies, proverbs, epistles, a selection must be made of material which is interesting to children.

Dr. Hurlbut has therefore selected "the most striking and interesting among the stories contained in the Bible," 168 in number, and retells each by itself, but in the biblical order. The language of the Bible is used, simplified for the child, and the stories are interpreted, but not rewritten or changed. Some attempt has been made to use the results of recent historical knowledge in dealing with the Old Testament narratives. The book is profusely illustrated with color plates and engravings, one or more pictures appearing with each story; these will go far to make the book attractive to the child.

Many efforts have been made in recent years to present the Bible stories in a form suitable for children. A number of good books of this kind might be named. Dr. Hurlbut's work takes a place among these, for it has many excellent qualities.

C. W. V.

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

RAMSAY, A. Studies in Jeremiah. London: Bagster, 1905. Pp. 304. 5*s*.

KENNEDY, A. R. S. Samuel: Introduction. Revised Version with Notes, Index, and Maps. (*The Century Bible*.) London: Jack, 1905. Pp. 336. 2*s*. 6*d*.

MACLAREN, ALEXANDER. The Book of Genesis. (*Expositions of Holy Scripture*.) London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905. Pp. viii + 339. 7*s*. 6*d*.

DUHM, B. Die Gottgeweihten in der alttestamentlichen Religion. Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. Pp. 34. M. 0.60.

KENT, C. F. Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives. (*The Student's Old Testament*, Vol. II.) Scribner, 1905.

A new translation from an emended text, together with indication of the various literary sources, chronological charts, maps, translations of the more important historical inscriptions of Assyria illustrating Old Testament History, and a new rendering of the Books of Maccabees.

ARTICLES

BOUTFLOWER, CHARLES. The Year that Tartan Came unto Ashdod. *Churchman*, January, pp. 185–93; February, pp. 221–32; March, pp. 277–87.

The three articles are given to a study of Sargon's capture of Ashdod and an interpretation of Isaiah's prophecy therewith connected (Isa., chap. 20). The scriptural narrative is supplemented by a careful comparison of the Assyrian sources and by reference to contemporary conditions in Egypt.

BEWER, J. A. The Literary Problems of the Balaam Story in Numb., Chaps 22–24. *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1905, pp. 238–62.

A careful and discriminating piece of work on the literary analysis of the Balaam oracles, being a keen criticism of previous analyses, and furnishing suggestive modifications of them in several details.

CHEYNE, T. K. An Appeal for the Reconsideration of Some Testing Biblical Passages. *Ibid*., April, 1905, pp. 323–32.

An attempt to show that all the explanations of many difficult passages in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus are unsatisfactory, in the hope of thereby discrediting the prevailing methods and results of present scholarship, and forcing a more hospitable treatment of Cheyne's own methods. The article is written in reply to the almost universal skepticism and ridicule with which Cheyne's Jerahmeel hypothesis has been received.

JOHNS, C. H. W. Assyriology and Inspiration. *Interpreter*, January and February, 1905.

If it should be demonstrated that the teaching of the Old Testament was not original with the Hebrews, but was inherited by them as their possession in common with other and older branches of the Semitic family, in what way would such a fact affect our conception of inspiration?

DRIVER, S. R. The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament. *Ibid*., 1905.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

MOXOM, P. S. Jesus' View of Himself in Mark's Gospel. Pittsfield, Mass.: Sun Printing Co., 1904. Pp. 23.

JAQUIER, E. Les évangiles synoptiques. (*Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament*, Tome II.) Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. Pp. 511. Fr. 3.50.

Detailed comparison of the synoptic gospels, section by section, and discussion of their relation and origin. An interesting evidence that critical study of the synoptics in being carried on in Catholic circles.

SANDAY, W. Outlines of the Life of Christ. New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. vi+241. $1.25, net.

Professor Sanday's article "Jesus Christ" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is here republished with little change. The material is divided into chapters and accompanied by an excellent map.

WEISS, BERNHARD. The Religion of the New Testament. Translated from the German by GEORGE H. SCHODDE. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1905. Pp. xi+440. $2.

Important as everything from the pen of Professor Weiss is, it must be admitted that in this book a more clearly historical treatment would have yielded more valuable results.

ARTICLES

BOX, G. H. The Gospel Narratives of the Nativity and the Alleged Influence of Heathen Ideas. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1905, Heft 1, pp. 80–101.

The well-recognized strongly Jewish character of these narratives is pointed out as inconsistent with the pagan influence which Usener, Soltau, and others have sought to find in them.

MACKINTOSH, ROBERT. The Dawn of the Messianic Consciousness, III. *Expository Times*, March, 1905, pp. 267–70.

An interpretation of the Temptation, in the form given in Matthew.

SMITH, DAVID. Our Lord's Reductio ad Absurdum of the Rabbinical Interpretation of Psalm CX. *Ibid.*, pp. 256–58.

Jesus chose this matter with which to silence and put to rout the Pharisees, by way of protest against their expectation of a royal Davidic Messiah of pomp and worldly power.

BENNETT, W. H. The Life of Christ according to St. Mark. XXXIV: The Entry into Jerusalem. XXXV: The Second Day in Jerusalem. *Expositor*, April, 1905, pp. 275–82.

HOLTZMANN, O. Die Jerusalemreisen des Paulus und die Kollekte. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1905, Heft 1, pp. 102-4.

JACKSON, GEORGE. The Ethical Teaching of St. Paul. (4) The Passive Virtues. *Expositor*, April, 1905, pp. 282–94

While "Christian morality is founded on natural morality," the "ethical originality of Christianity is most strikingly revealed" in its insistence upon lowly-mindedness, long-suffering, and forgiveness.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Early Christian Symbol of the Open Book, II. *Ibid.*, pp. 294–306.

It is contended that the book with seven seals of Rev. 5:1 was not a roll but a pair of tablets, sealed with seven seals after the Roman court-procedure. A closer and more judicial examination of the evidence would disclose the artificiality of this position.

RELATED SUBJECTS

ARTICLES

HARNACK, ADOLF. Zum Ursprung des sogenannten 2. Clemensbriefs. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1905, Heft 1, pp. 67–71.

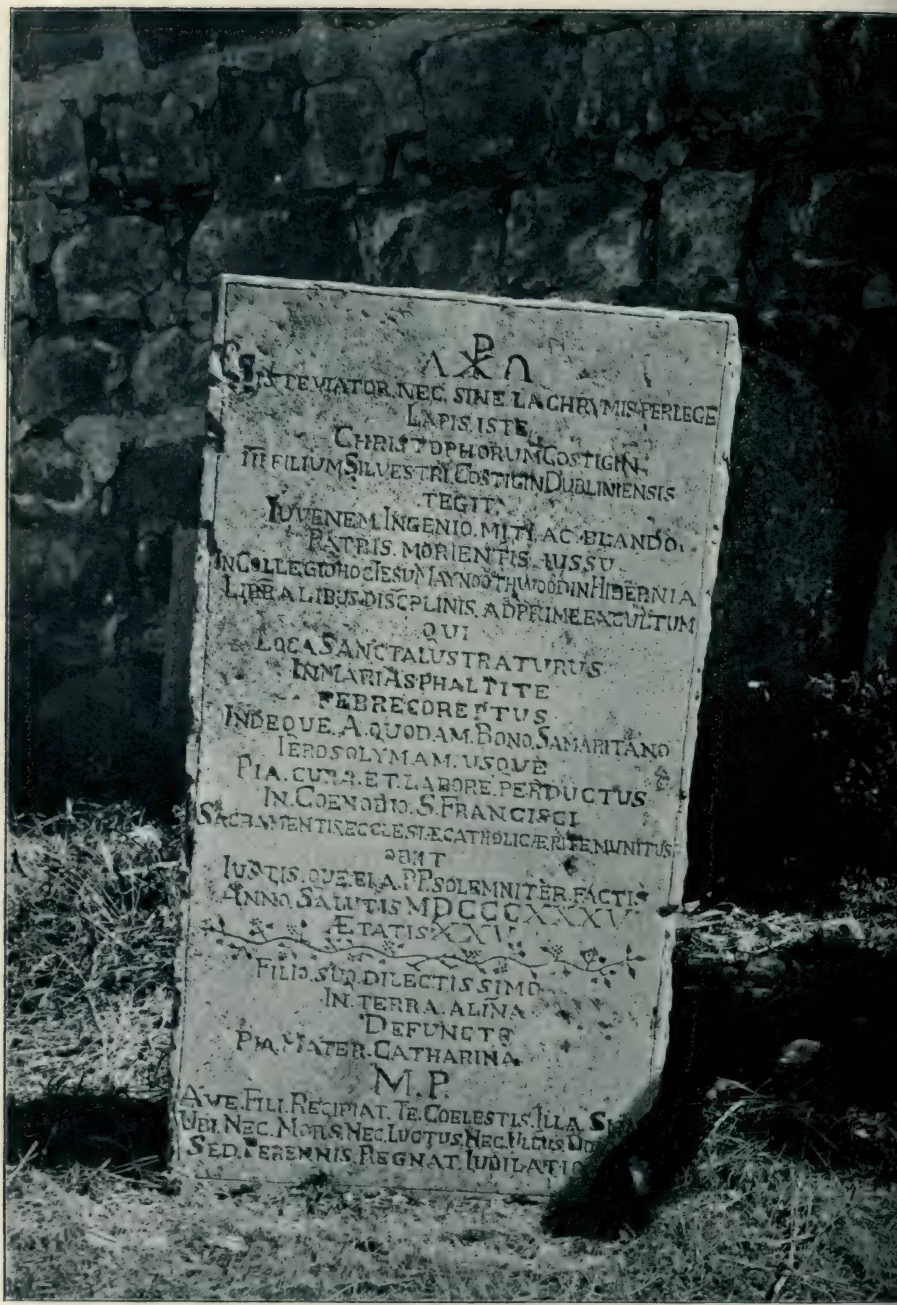
Professor Harnack reasserts his identification of Second Clement with the letter sent by Soter of Rome to Corinth, *ca.* 166 A. D., and answered by Dionysius of Corinth. He adduces further evidence for this, in the acquaintance the writer evinces with the Apology of Justin (*ca.* 150 A. D.).

KRÜGER, G. Das Taufbekenntnis der römischen Gemeinde als Niederschlag des Kampfes gegen Marcion. *Ibid.*, pp. 72–79.

The Apostles' Creed, unknown before the time of Irenæus, represents the Catholic protest against the views of Marcion, to safeguard the church against which this explicit repudiation of them was required of each new member at baptism.

SCHÜRER, E. Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–66.

An investigation of the history of the seven-day week in its relation to Jewish and planetary systems.



GRAVESTONE OF MR. COSTIGAN IN ROMAN CATHOLIC CEMETERY, JERUSALEM

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXV JUNE, 1905 NUMBER 6

Editorial

SHALL WE GO FORWARD?

Is the world as good as it ought to be and might be? Has the church as broad a conception, as clear a vision, of truth and of its own mission as it is possible for it to attain? Are its standards of personal life and character, its ideals and hopes for human life in its broad social aspects, perfect, and so incapable of improvement? Are we working with full intelligence and all possible effectiveness for the achievement of true ideals of personal and community life? If there is still room for progress, is progress possible? If progress is possible, shall we go forward?

Shall we go forward in the field of Christian scholarship? Shall we count what has been done enough, drive a stake and stand where we are? Shall we crystallize our present achievements in creeds and textbooks and dictionaries, and write at the end of each, Thus far and no farther? Or shall we count each past achievement a stepping-stone for further progress; each unsolved problem a challenge and a command to push on? Do we know all we need to know about the Bible, how it arose, in general and in particular, what is its permanent significance and its authority, how it can best serve the moral and religious life of today? Have we nothing more to learn concerning God's dealings with that vast majority of the human race that have lain outside the course of Hebrew and Christian revelation? Have we said the last word concerning the human soul, its moral needs, its religious capacities, concerning immortality and life after death? Have we finished the work of co-ordinating

such knowledge as we possess in these several realms of thought, and of translating the result into terms that make it intelligible to men of our day and contributory to the highest well-being of men? If these are still tasks to be accomplished, shall we shrink from them as too hard? Or shall we gird up the loins of our minds and press on toward their accomplishment?

Shall we go forward in the application of religious and ethical truth to human life? Shall we venture to question whether the present organization of society is the best possible, more conducive than any other to the highest welfare of the generation that now is and the generations that are to come? Shall we ask whether the ideals of the gospel have yet permeated the structure of our commercial system and become dominant in the world's great enterprises? Shall we dare to inquire whether our ideals of education and our conceptions of government are subject to revision? Shall we set every phase of our modern life in the strong light of the life and teachings of the Christ, and ask ourselves whether we ought to be content with things as they are, or must rather look and hope and toil for a time when those teachings and the ideals that ruled that life shall have displaced the lower conceptions which now prevail even in Christian lands and within the church?

Shall we go forward in the endeavor to set for the individual man a higher ideal of life, intellectually, morally, religiously? Shall we ask ourselves whether the ideal of human life commonly accepted, not among publicans and sinners, but among the leaders in thought and action, among the poets and the novelists, the priests and the prophets, are still below the highest possibilities of human life, and hence in need of purifying and elevating?

But grappling with these tasks has its perils. To ask such questions as these, to open the mind to new evidence on them, may lead to the surrender of old beliefs that have been helpful to us or to others. To consider the possibility of change in the structure of society or ideals of life may be to involve ourselves in social unrest, or it may be in revolution. True. To press forward is not always to build on the foundation already laid. It must sometimes be to forget or to reject the things that are behind. To go forward involves danger. It is so in war; it is so in economic life; it cannot be other-

wise in the intellectual aspects of religious life. Shall we then prohibit progress, anchor ourselves where we are, and stop the flowing of the streams if we can? Is stagnation better than danger? Or though there is danger, shall we go forward with hope and courage?

In the long run, thought rules the world. The thinker is the king of men. Not the doer? Yes, the doer; but the doer that thinks, or the doer who has been spurred on to doing by the thoughts of the thinker. Back of every forward step that the world has taken has lain some new thought wrought out in toil and sweat of brain, often in the anguish of birth-pangs, the costly offspring of some thinking mind. Thought is not the whole of character. Emotion and will are constituent factors in it, and right character consists rather in one's attitude toward goodness and truth as such than in the accuracy of one's apprehension of what is true on any particular subject. But even this perception of the subordination of thought to will in character we owe to the thinker. It is thinking that emancipated the world from the bondage to intellectualism in religion and morals, and struck the death-blow at persecution for opinion's sake. One may hold many erroneous opinions and still be a good man, but the progress of the world in every sphere of life waits on the enlightenment that comes through larger knowledge, deeper thinking, clearer, broader vision.

Shall we go forward? Not if we already know all truth; if we have penetrated the depth and height, explored the length and breadth, of all truth that concerns man's welfare. If our fathers solved all problems, or if those that they left, we have conquered, let us drive here our stake, here make our last stand, and fight as our bitterest foe him who talks of progress. If the thought of the past touched the outermost rim of human possibility in reference to the great fundamental truths of religion, the principles and ideals of personal and social life, and cast in the perfect mold of a faultless creed and institutions incapable of improvement, the eternal and unchangeable truth, and if truth inherited is as vital and powerful as truth achieved, let us sit at the feet of the fathers and solemnly repeat their ultimate truths. But if our fathers left us some tasks unfinished, and if each generation must work out its own salvation and anew fight its way out into a fresh and living conception of the

ideal of human life as respects man's relation to the eternal Spirit of God and to the finite spirits of men, pushing its thought, if it may, a hand's breadth farther out into the boundless sea of reality, then let us bend to our task and push on with faith and hope, though sometimes the heart ache and the soul grow weary with its yearning after the unattained. Let us go forward.

Shall we go forward in our own lives? Shall we strive to see truth more clearly and fully, to live more purely, more strongly, more serviceably for the world? Shall we, recognizing that he who would advance the kingdom of God through the dissemination of true ideas and noble ideals must himself have a pure heart and clean hands—shall we go forward? Not if we have already attained, if we have already achieved all that is possible to man. But if there are battles yet to win, if there are heights yet to scale, if there are noble possibilities still unachieved, then, forgetting the things that are behind and stretching forward to the things that are before, let us press on toward the goal.

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are right, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things, to the end that they may be achieved.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE DEAD SEA VALLEY

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In my preceding paper I indicated the physical history of the remarkable Dead Sea valley. I venture now to describe the three great expeditions of the nineteenth century which attempted, with some measure of success, to explore this strange region. They were not without tragedy and misfortune. The better knowledge we have of the climate and geography of this region, the improved means of communication, and the firmer control obtained by the Turkish government over the bedouins, have now entirely altered the conditions of sixty years ago. Those early expeditions will therefore always have a unique interest. The causes of the first failures are now so clear that we might be tempted to condemn as mere foolhardiness the first of these efforts; but a more sympathetic attitude, and a full allowance for the imperfect knowledge of this region at those times, will rather class them with similar heroic ventures of pioneer explorers in all climes.

The first of these expeditions was that of an Irishman, Mr. Costigan, who in August and September, 1835, attempted singlehanded to do what twelve years later strained the resources of an expensive and elaborately equipped United States naval expedition.

Costigan conveyed his boat from the bay of Acre overland to Tiberias, and with a single Maltese servant, no more a sailor than himself, attempted the navigation of the Jordan southward toward the Dead Sea. He could hardly have chosen a more unfortunate time of year, as it was at once the hottest season and that in which the river was at its lowest. After three days' struggling down a long succession of waterfalls and rapids, in which he was more often in the water than upon it, his servant so entirely lost his patience and nerve that Costigan was obliged, although the worst difficulties were past, to abandon navigation. Sending his other baggage to Jerusalem,

he procured an escort of bedouins, and carried his boat to Jericho on a camel.

On the road he appears to have escaped being robbed only by the attacking party apparently taking him for a madman. For while a number of hostile Arabs were assembled ready for attack, Costigan's horse ran away with him and carried him, wildly gesticulating, toward them at full gallop, whereupon the whole party turned



VIEW ALONG NORTH SHORE OF DEAD SEA
Showing a "raised beach." Mountains of Moab in the distance.

and fled! At Jericho he arrived tattered and bedraggled, but undaunted: after visiting Jerusalem and recovering somewhat, he at the end of August started on the second, and still more unfortunate, stage of his exploration. Leaving the northern shore of the Dead Sea, with his servant as his sole companion, he sailed slowly down the whole eastern coast and soon reached the Lisan.

Here, as so often happens, the wind failed, and they were quite becalmed. They were obliged to commence to work their way northward by rowing. The fearful heat, the hard work and anxiety were bad enough. But one day while Costigan slept, the servant,

tired of rowing so heavy a boat, sought to lighten his labors by throwing overboard the sole supply of fresh water. Their sufferings now became terrible. They dared not land at the two or three green spots where they might have obtained fresh water, because of the bedouins. In this they were certainly overcautious, and fatally so. They both suffered from fever; one whole day Costigan, who had



NORTH SHORE OF DEAD SEA

Looking westward. The ridges made in the shingle are the highest level attained in successive seasons

had no previous experience at rowing, had to work at the oars while the servant lay tossing with fever at the bottom of the boat.

At last, on the fifth day, they reached the north shore in a terrible condition. There was no water to assuage their raging thirst. They were in high fever and blistered all over from having poured the Dead Sea water over their clothes to cool themselves. For the succeeding night and the greater part of the next day they could not stir. But at length the servant set out for Jericho. More than seven times he fainted by the way; at length, after struggling along several hours, he reached his destination and dispatched help to his unfortunate master. With the greatest difficulty Costigan was mounted on a

horse and brought into Jericho, where he was received into one of the hovels of the Arabs. This was on September 2, 1835. In the evening of that day he sent his servant to Jerusalem to secure help from the governor, but the man appears to have failed Costigan entirely. On the evening of the next day (September 3) a messenger, mounted on Mr. Costigan's own horse, arrived at the home of Rev. T. Nicolayson, the English clergyman in Jerusalem, with the following letter:

MY DEAR SIR:

For God's sake send me some medicine and emetic above all things. I cannot rise from my bed, and if I pass two such nights as the last without aid or medicine, you will have to do something else for me!

Yours,
(Signed) C. C.

Mr. Nicolayson started at once and rode all night to Jericho. He found the explorer lying in the open air in a state of extreme exhaustion after a severe run of fever. The whole day was spent, amid a scorching sandstorm, in contriving means of conveying the poor invalid to Jerusalem. Neither promises nor threats could induce the lazy Jericho Arabs to bestir themselves, and no one could be persuaded to assist in carrying a litter.

At length, at the suggestion of an old woman, who showed more kind-heartedness and intelligence than all the men, two bags of straw were slung on the sides of a pack saddle so as to form a hollow on the back of the horse. On this was spread a large fur cloak, and a couple of cushions were fixed on the neck of the horse to receive Mr. Costigan's head. About 9 P. M. the party started, the patient reclining on his improvised couch with two men supporting his legs and a third leading the horse. With many halts, the toilsome journey was performed, and Jerusalem was reached at 8 A. M. Here the explorer found a comfortable resting-place in the Casa Nuova, where the physician of the pasha attended him. But not for long. The next evening the fever returned with renewed violence, and on Monday, September 7, at 3 A. M. he breathed his last. His remains rest in the cemetery attached to the Latin Convent.[1] Impulsive and brave, Costigan had perished for want of a little foresight and preparation.

[1] See frontispiece.

Sad to say, no notes whatever were found among his effects. The source of my information for Costigan's adventures in the above paper is entirely a manuscript account by Miss Nicolayson, in the minutes of the Jerusalem Literary Society. These notes were written in 1850 from information supplied by Rev. T. Nicolayson (then living), and, as far as they go, may be relied upon as correct. Since this, however, I have come upon some further information supplementary to this which I think I ought to refer to here. In *Incidents of Travel in the Holy Land, etc.*, by J. L. Stephens (1839), I find the following remarks:

When the unhappy Costigan was found by the Arabs on the shore of the Dead Sea, the spirit of the enterprising Irishman was fast fleeting away. He lived two days after he was carried to the convent in Jerusalem, but he never once referred to his unfortunate voyage. He had long been a traveler in the East, and had long been preparing for this voyage. He had read every book that treated of the mysterious water, the Dead Sea, and was thoroughly prepared with all the knowledge necessary for exploring it to advantage. Unfortunately for the interests of science, he had always been in the habit of trusting greatly to his memory. After his death the missionaries in Jerusalem found no regular diary or journal, but merely brief notes written on the margins of books, so irregular and confused that they could make nothing of them. And either from indifference, or because they had no confidence in him, they allowed Costigan's servant to go without asking him any questions. I took some pains to trace out this man in Beirût. He was a little dried up Maltese sailor. He said he had rowed around the sea without knowing why, except that he was paid for it, and what he told me bore the stamp of truth, for he did not seem to think that he had done anything extraordinary. He knew as little about it as any man could know who had been over the same water. . . . . He seemed, however, to have observed the coast and the soundings with the eye of a sailor.

He states that they were eight days in accomplishing the *whole tour of the lake* sleeping every night on shore except once, when afraid of some suspicious Arabs whom they saw on the mountains, they slept on board beyond the reach of gunshot from the land. He told me that they had moved in a zigzag direction, crossing and recrossing the lake several times; that every day they sounded frequently with a line of 175 brachia (about six feet each); that they found the bottom rocky and of very unequal depth, sometimes ranging thirty, forty, eighty, twenty brachia, all within a few boat's lengths; that sometimes the lead brought up sand like that of the mountains on each side; that they failed to find the bottom but once, and in that place there were large bubbles all around for thirty paces, rising probably from a spring; that at one place they found on the bank a hot sulphur spring. . . . . He told me some other particulars; that the boat,

when empty, floated a palm higher out of the water than on the Mediterranean; that Costigan lay on the water and picked a fowl, and tried to induce him [the sailor] to come in [into the water]; . . . . that from nine till five it was dreadfully hot, and every night a north wind blew, and the waves were worse than in the Gulf of Lyons. In reference to their peculiar exposures, and the circumstances that hurried poor Costigan to his unhappy fate, he said that thay had suffered exceedingly from the heat, the first five days Costigan taking his turn at the oars; that on the sixth day their water was exhausted and Costigan gave out; that on the seventh day they were obliged to drink the water of the sea, and on the eighth they were near the head of the lake and he himself was exhausted, unable any longer to pull an oar. Then he made coffee from the water of the sea; and a favorable wind springing up for the first time, they hoisted their sail and in a few hours reached the head of the lake; that, feeble as he was, he set off for Jericho, and in the meantime the unhappy Costigan was found by the Arabs on the shore a dying man, and by the intercession of the old woman, carried to Jericho.

It will be noticed that there are several discrepancies in the two accounts, but in the main facts they agree. This latter narrative is important as making the expedition much more rational and purposeful. The first account says nothing of scientific observations. It seems too clear that the Maltese man at any rate claimed to be a sailor. The closing sentences are probably a mistake.

Just nine years after the sad and tragic occurrences just narrated, a second, and somewhat more successful, expedition over the same route was made, led by Lieutenant Molyneux of H. M. S. "Spartan."[2] This frigate was then lying at Beirût, and Lieutenant Molyneux got permission to take the ship's dingey, with three picked able seamen, who had had previous experience of exploration in Australia, and a full supply of all necessary nautical instruments. They landed at the bay of Acre, and their boat was conveyed by camels to Tiberias and there launched. From the Lake of Tiberias the party, now augmented by two natives who had joined the naval officer and his men at Tiberias, started August 23, 1847, down the Jordan.

From the first their progress was one of great difficulty. The water was at its lowest, and after the first mile from the lake for seven hours they "scarcely ever had sufficient water to swim the boat for a

[2] Most of my information regarding this expedition had been derived from an account contained in a manuscript by Mr. Finn, H. B. M.'s consul in Jerusalem, in the minutes of the Jerusalem Literary Society (1850).

hundred yards together." On the 26th they were obliged to give up navigation and carry the boat on camels as far as Jisr el Mujāmiā; thence Molyneux rode on the bank, directing the seamen and their native assistants how to steer. In the tortuous windings of the river it necessarily happened that on many occasions he lost sight of the boat altogether.

While progressing under these circumstances, the whole party



PART OF THE 'AIN FESHKHAH OASIS
Looking out across the sea toward the west.

was simultaneously attacked on the 29th at a point a little beyond where the Zerka (Jabbok) joins the Jordan. Molyneux warned off his attackers by threats, and proceeded to the evening rendezvous in ignorance of the fate that had overtaken his companions. After long waiting in vain for the boat, the dragoman was sent back and found it lying in the river empty, and on the shore near at hand lay the guide from Tiberias, stripped naked. The sailors had disappeared entirely. The guide narrated that the boat had, at a certain bend in the river, been surrounded by about fifty Arabs firing muskets and throwing stones; that one of the Englishmen,

having leveled his musket to fire, was at that moment struck on the forehead and fell into the water. The whole party of Arabs thereupon made a united onslaught, seized the party, and, having carried them all into the thicket, had stripped them of their possessions.

After prolonged search and repeated signaling, all in vain, Molyneux decided to make his way southward. The boat, which had now been brought far enough down the river for easy navigation, he directed should be rowed down by the native guides. He himself proceeded direct to Jericho, arriving with the baggage in the early morning. Here he rested for a couple of hours, the first time for three days and nights. When he heard of the safe arrival of the boat on the lower reaches of the Jordan, he went up to Jerusalem to obtain help. As he neared the Holy City, he met H. B. M.'s consul, Mr. Finn, actually on the road to assist him. Hearing of the disaster the consul turned back with Molyneux and at once approached the pasha. A guard of ten bashi-bezuks, under a captain—one Mustapha Agha—was at once put at their disposal, and the next morning (September 1) they started for Jericho. After a short rest there, they set out at 1 A. M., September 2, to scour the Jericho plain to the north for traces of the lost sailors; after a fruitless ride almost as far north as the Jabbok, they at last decided to return to Jericho, which they reached after twelve hours in the saddle.

It may be as well to mention at once what had really happened to the unfortunate sailors. The poor fellows had wandered about one whole day in search of their officer; not finding him, they had then made for Tiberias, the last town they had seen. This place they reached the third day. Two of them had had to carry their wounded companion all the time. They had suffered intensely from thirst, as they were afraid again to approach the Jordan itself; and this, as well as fear of the Arabs, had compelled them chiefly to travel by moonlight. At Tiberias they appear to have been kindly treated, and they shortly afterward rejoined their ship at Beirût.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Molyneux, undaunted by the difficulties and discouragements that had occurred, determined to continue his explorations. He had his boat conveyed to the mouth of the Jordan, where he formed a temporary camp. At 6 P. M., September 3, accompanied by his Tiberias guide and a Greek from Jerusalem,

he set sail on the Dea Sea. This, as has been mentioned, is a favorable time for sailing southward. Molyneux, more fortunate than his predecessor, found also a favorable breeze for his return. He, in two nights and a day and a half, went to the Lisan and back, landing again on the north shore at noon, September 5. The thermometer



WEST SHORE OF DEAD SEA
From Engedi to Masada. (Photographed by Rev. Putnam Cady, F. R. G. S.[3])

is said to have reached 130° F., and part of the time the crew sustained rough weather.

The next day Molyneux carried the dingey on camel-back to Jericho, where he found awaiting him the British consul and several of his brother officers of H. M. S. "Spartan," who had run over from Jaffa to greet him. The whole party returned to Jerusalem, and on

[3] The pictures on pp. 254 and 255 of the April number were also furnished by Mr. Cady.

the 10th left for Jaffa. So far, in spite of what had happened to the seaman, the expedition had not been without success; the officer in command, the seamen, and the boat had all got off safely. Molyneux, however, as he embarked stated to the consul: "Yes I am doing well now—no fever yet—but when I am on board and the excitement is over I shall catch it!" His premonition was verified: in a little over three weeks, on October 3, he died of fever in Beirût.

These two tragic pioneer attempts paved the way for the great American expedition of 1848. The first failures had been due to insufficient preparation, want of a guard against those rapacious and, at that time, dangerous marauders, the bedouins, and perhaps most of all the selection (in ignorance of the climate) of the worst season of the year, when the Dea Sea valley is a veritable furnace and the Jordan reduced to its lowest level. All these mistakes were guarded against in the new attempt.

Lieutenant Lynch's expedition landed at Acre, March 31, 1848, from the American storeship "Supply." The staff consisted of Lieutenants Lynch (in command) and J. B. Dale, Midshipman R. Aulick, Dr. Anderson, Mr. Francis Lynch, a botanist, and ten able seamen, one of whom was a trained mechanic. Soon after landing, the party put themselves under the protection of the most powerful bedouin chief of the day, Arkēly Agha, a man who in all the district had more power and authority than the whole Turkish administration. He and his followers protected the expedition from first to last. With this party were carried two specially constructed boats: one a copper boat, named the "Fanny Mason;" the other an iron boat, the "Fanny Skinner." At Tiberias a small wooden boat, called "Uncle Sam," was added to the flotilla; this, however, came to grief in the rapids of the Jordan soon after starting.

On April 10th the imposing procession, three boats by water and a party of no less than thirty horsemen along the banks, started from the outlet of the Jordan. What a contrast to poor Costigan and his solitary Maltese! Lynch himself took charge of one boat and Midshipman Aulick took charge of a second, while Lieutenant Dale commanded the land forces. After great difficulties and through indefatigable perseverance, the two metal boats traversed the numerous cataracts, rapids, and waterfalls, and finally, on April 19, safely

reached the Dead Sea, having descended about two hundred miles of river.

The party then navigated the Dead Sea[4] in all parts from this date until May 9. Its shores were surveyed, its depths sounded, and temperatures taken. Careful geological, botanical, and meteorological observations were made. The party experienced the vicissitudes of storm and calm, and especially were oppressed by the sweltering heat. But all manfully stuck to their posts. After quitting the region, most of the party suffered from fever. Later Lieutenant Dale, on July 24, succumbed in the Lebanon to the privations he had here undergone.

One may safely say that more knowledge of the Dead Sea was acquired by this one expedition of Lieutenant Lynch than had been gained by the previous ventures. On the foundations then laid all our subsequent knowledge is built. Many have come since to add information whose researches are fully accessible to all. The names of de Saulcy,[5] Rob-Roy Macgregor,[6] Tristram[7], Lartet,[8] and the Duke of Luynes, and Hull,[9] of the Palestine Exploration Fund,[10] must ever be remembered in connection with the exploration of the Jordan valley in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as Costigan, Molyneux, and Lynch are to be remembered for their work in the earlier years.

[4] My account of this expedition is intentionally scanty, because a full and most interesting description is given in the *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, to which those interested are referred.

[5] *Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea* (translated from the French). (2 vols., 1854.)

[6] *Rob-Roy on the Jordan* (1869; specially valuable with regard to the upper Jordan and Lake Huleh).

[7] *Land of Israel* (1886); etc.

[8] *Exploration géologique de la Mer Morte* (account of a scientific expedition financed by the Duke de Luynes in the early seventies).

[9] *Geology of Palestine and Arabia Petræa.*

[10] Many other names might be mentioned in connection with the survey, especially Kitchener, Conder, and Wilson.

THE PART OF THE HOME IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION[1]

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This general subject has already been ably discussed in certain aspects before this Association.[2] The present contribution will come from a different field of study.

I. Historical. The domestic group or "matrimonial institution" has assumed many forms during the rise and development of civilization, and humanity has tried all possible kinds of experiments in order to come to the conclusion to make monogamy, with all it implies, the law of social order; and the impulses of the race tend to become innate, and the customs traditional, which require this form to be perpetual. In all stages, from the earliest mother-group to the modern family, the domestic community has always been the primary association of human beings, the undifferentiated stock out of which all the specialized agencies and institutions of society have grown. It would be incredible to think that all this long racial experience has left no trace in our physical nature, our deep instincts, our traditional conceptions, our social organization, our methods of regulating conduct.[3]

While there has been no one universal order of specialization, there has been in general an advance from the condition in which the domestic group, or the closely knit blood-kin, did almost everything for itself without exchange of goods and services, to the present situation in which the bread-winner of a family buys all he needs for his own by the exchange of one form of service for all that the world has to offer.

In an isolated and restricted group, like that of Abraham, for

[1] An address given before the Religious Education Association, at its Third Annual Convention, Boston, Mass., February 12–16, 1905.

[2] By President George B. Stewart and Rev. Jean F. Loba, in *Proceedings of the Religious Education Association*, 1903, pp. 108–23.

[3] The discussion here is necessarily a mere fragment. In Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, a profound study may be followed.

example, the little association of parents, children, relatives, slaves, and attached persons had to protect itself from beasts and men, from flood and fire, from disease and accident; it must nurse its own sick without aid of special physicians; it must produce its own supplies of food, clothing, shelter, light, heat, utensils, with limited barter; it must carry and transport persons and belongings; its social influence was confined to a small circle; its morality was the regulation of conduct for few persons in simple relations; its religion devised images and feelings from nature without and from the relations of near kindred; its law was parental command, tempered by tradition and enforced by direct and obvious means. Therefore educational methods were exclusively domestic; the parents communicated the scanty tribal stock of knowledge, moral maxims, technical devices, often without aid of the written records of wide human experience.

In some degree even a modern family passes through similar stages, although the process is shortened, modified, and at last terminated by the socialization of industry, government, ecclesiastical activity, and schools.[4]

Even now, and in the complicated life of a city, the family is an important industrial organization, cares for the health of its members, is alert to protect them from danger, governs them by a domestic code, judges their causes, disciplines them for faults, instructs them in arts and science, trains them in morality, furnishes them a sanctuary for worship. Only gradually, with reluctance and pain, do the parents transfer their offspring to the larger life of the world and surrender their leadership in culture and control.

There is no one "underlying idea" in the family which will account for it. The family grows naturally out of all the elementary desires of our human nature, physical, æsthetic, ethical, and spiritual. To say, with one very interesting writer, that *obedience* is the "underlying idea" is to make us satisfied with a partial and superficial explanation. The family is a complete community of material and mental goods, and attempted simplification of interpretation is distortion and mutilation. All later and larger forms of association

[4] A beautiful and suggestive chart is found in Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 250.

merely enlarge and specialize the activities of the domestic group. It is precisely this fact which gives to the family its unique place and importance in relation to education and social progress. Religion, morality, culture, noble politics, all interests suffer, if domestic conduct is defective or immoral.

II. The educational function of the family is permanent. There is a quite general belief in some quarters that the educational work of the family is about to be surrendered to special social agencies of education, to the school. Some influential writers, generally of the socialistic tendency, have drawn up an argument for holding this belief. Their chief reason is that ordinary parents are incapable of instructing and training children and youth, that only the state can furnish nurses and teachers who have the scientific and professional equipment for the worthy task of preparing youth for citizenship.

There is a plausible ground for this view, just enough neglected truth in it to delude the unwary and to awaken the prudent. Much of the current discussion among church leaders overlooks the body of facts which socialist agitators have in mind and which are manifest in the crowded habitations of our huge cities. There it is unquestionably true that very many girls marry too young, without necessary physical maturity and without preparation for motherhood, and with only such education as they can acquire in a primary school and years of specialized labor in a department store or in a factory. It would be well for our country and for the cause of religion if those who write about moral and spiritual education would take adequate pains to bring these deplorable conditions within their mental horizon. We have able and convincing essays on home religion which are quite suitable for people who have homes; but the average flat building, occupied by low-paid, unskilled laborers with irregular employment, presents radically different problems, and the conditions call for different methods. Persons long resident in social settlements and patient missionaries among immigrants reveal a nether region which the ordinary pastor or Sunday-school teacher, psychologist, and seminary professor, living in snug comfort, must regard as alien to all he knows. It is this alien world which the socialist has chiefly in his memory when he claims that parents cannot be trusted to

educate the children of the land, and that expert nurses and teachers ought to be employed. The socialist also thinks, and sometimes speaks very bitterly, of those luxurious homes of people who in the whirl of business and social frivolities accept the burdens of parenthood with regret and pass on the task of education of their offspring to incompetent hirelings as quickly as possible. Thus at both extremes of society the argument for abandoning the educational function of the family may seem plausible on superficial examination.

But many of us think that the better way would be to correct defects; that those who are able to educate their young children should be constrained by public opinion and law to do so; that the ignorant and untrained should be encouraged and helped to perform their social task; and that nurture is as truly a social function of the family as propagation. The recent rapid growth of juvenile courts in this country, and of similar administrative measures in Europe, is an indication of the alarm of thoughtful people at the discovery that a failure of moral training in the home is a distinct national peril. The law which has been applied by these courts does not relieve parents of their responsibility, but compels them to meet their obligations with all their resources, inflicts penalties on the criminally negligent, and at the same time mercifully places them under the tuition and supervision of probation officers and charitable associations who will aid them to make good citizens out of even refractory children and youth. These measures are capable of vast expansion, and they deserve the help of all earnest people.

There is an educational function for the family which cannot be transferred to the public school, the kindergarten, or the church school. Many of the early and most important factors of education are inseparably connected with that care of the infant body which only mothers can give. The more formal, systematic, and specialized instruction, the communication of knowledge, belongs to the school; but instruction is only one element in the process of forming the character. The foundations are laid before the child can safely be sent away from the parents, and the co-operation of parental influence is necessary in every succeeding stage of development up to maturity. Just what this peculiar and essential contribution of

the family is deserves profound study. We can bring out the essential aspects by briefly considering (1) the *aim* of education, and (2) the *particular contribution* of the domestic life to spiritual nurture.

III. The *aim* of religious and moral education is just the goal and purpose of *life*, the crown of all culture. Jesus' saying is none too often quoted: "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly." This aim is not to be attained in fragments and sections of unrelated acts. The entire body, mind, and spirit is to be sanctified. Isolation of interests is impossible.

One turns to an ancient master of philosophy and education, even to Plato, and hears Socrates talking of the "goods of the soul" —as temperance, justice, courage, quickness of apprehension, memory, magnificence, and the like. Health and strength, beauty and wealth, are also profitable, but only when they come under a guiding principle, and virtue is religious in origin, for "virtue comes to the virtuous by the gift of God."

There are three aspects of this aim of education, and they must be seen stereoscopically, on all sides at once, as if character had three dimensions; and these aspects are (1) personality, (2) devotion to our kind, and (3) consecration to God. Each involves the other.

We speak of the perfection of personality as our aim; but we do not mean a fixed limit, a fine quality of dwarfed proportions; and therefore our sage Emerson preferred the word "greatness" as the ideal of personal culture. Personality is not the equivalent of egotism. The person must be a *socius*, a companion, a member of the race, of kind to his kind, a neighbor to all. For selfishness is the essence of sin, and it cuts off all roots which might nourish the soul and leaves it to wither. Personality is still incomplete in the human community and demands converse with God. This divine and heavenly summit reached, the Mont Blanc of the range of spiritual mountain heights, all lower ranges of being and interests are seen radiant with the shining of God. "Virtue is the gift of God."

IV. The family offers an indispensable contribution to the elementary spiritual nurture, to right life.

1. Deeper and earlier than clear, rational reasoning there are experiences which well up from the soul of the infant in response to the stimuli of parental touch and care. Has ever anyone described

the very fountain and origin of religious consciousness better than the good, gentle, prophetic, awkward Pestalozzi?

> The best way for a child to learn to fear God is to see and hear a real Christian. . . . . The home is the true basis of the education of humanity. It is the home that gives the best moral training, whether for private or public life. . . . .
>
> Once again I look into my own heart for an answer to my question, and ask myself: How does the idea of God take root in my soul? Whence comes it that I believe in God, that I abandon myself to him, and feel happy when I love him and trust him, thank him and obey him?
>
> Then I soon see that the sentiments of love, trust, gratitude, and obedience must first exist in my heart before I can rise to loving, thanking, trusting, and obeying God. "For he who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love his Father in heaven whom he hath not seen?" I next ask myself: How is it that I come to love men, to trust them, to thank them and obey them? How do these sentiments take root in my heart? And I find that it is principally through the relations which exist between a mother and her infant child.
>
> The mother must care for her child, feed it, protect it, amuse it. She cannot do otherwise; her strongest instincts impel her to this course. And so she provides for its needs, and in every possible way makes up for its powerlessness. Thus the child is cared for and made happy, and the first seed of love is sown within him.

Then he describes with some details the rise of trust, gratitude, and obedience, the feeling and the ideas which correspond to them, and all in response to the stimulus which arises in relation of child to mother:

> These elements are also the elements of religious development, and it is by faith in its mother that the child rises to faith in God.
>
> [The child] no sooner hears God's name from his mother's lips than he glows with gladness. . . . . This first attempt of a loving, simple-minded mother to subordinate the child's growing feeling of independence to faith in God, by connecting faith with certain moral tendencies that are already more or less developed, furnishes education with the fundamental principles from which it must start if it is to succeed in ennobling men.

2. Habits are the means by which actions and movements are transformed into second nature, the basis of character; and habits are started at birth, and continue through childhood and youth into manhood. Punctuality, truthfulness, order, neatness, cleanliness, kindness, usefulness, reverence, and all else that is desirable in character, are fashioned by securing the almost unthinking repetition of right actions and of symbolic gestures and postures.

Plato again noticed long ago how education begins in the home:

> Education and admonition commence in the first years of childhood, and last to the very end of life. Mother and nurse, and father and tutor, are quarreling about the improvement of the child as soon as ever he is able to understand them; he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable, that is dishonorable; this is holy, that is unholy; do this and abstain from that. And if he obeys, well and good; if not, he is straightened by threats and blows, like a piece of warped wood. At a later stage they send him to teachers.

> No action, whether foul or fair,
> Is ever done, but it leaves somewhere
> A record, written by fingers ghostly,
> As a blessing, or a curse, or mostly
> In the greater weakness or greater strength
> Of the acts which follow it, till at length
> The wrongs of ages are redressed
> And the justice of God made manifest.
>
> —Longfellow, "The Golden Legend."

3. The *ideas* of morality and religion are the late and ripe fruit of feeling and habitual conduct. There is, of course, an intellectual element in the first conscious movements, sensations, and emotions, but only with youth can there come an orderly and extended system of thoughts. Truth can be gradually formulated on the basis of previous experiences. When doctrine is made clear, articulate, distinct, rational, it reacts upon the life of feeling and volition and habit. If the doctrine happily is a worthy conception of God, it helps the moral life, clarifies, enlarges, exalts, and refines the disposition. It is not enough to set an example of goodness before a child, nor even to cause him to do good actions himself; he must have a name for his vague experiences, must voice his aspiration, must give a rational and even æsthetic form to his devoutness. It is not a creed or a catechism which hurts the child's soul, but the monstrous and immoral dogma and the inquisitional torture which stir revolt, and the unreality of verbal formulas which signify nothing and cause insincerity at once and scepticism in after-years.

V. There is time for only one application of these considerations, and that shall be to family worship. Domestic religion must find some kind of suitable liturgical expression.

To the very suggestive discussions already mentioned we may

add certain illustrations of a regulative principle which should govern here. Family worship, to be useful, or even tolerable, must grow naturally out of the ordinary course of life, be fitted into it, and reveal its real spirit. It must be for children, where there are children; and they must, during the years of education, be active in it, not merely passive victims of it. It must not frighten them away from God's altar, where even birds make their nests in security. It must be expansive and not repressive.

There is seen occasionally a humorous caricature of a form of family worship—a picture in which the father is on his knees, apparently saying a long prayer for his own edification, while his brood of youngsters are ready to burst with merriment at the sight of a cat perched on the safe height of a chair, with curved back and hair on end defying the attack of a puppy. The old man is utterly oblivious of what is going on at home while he talks to a distant God. He is evidently not in the same world with his children, and it is not their fault. If they pretended to follow him, it would be hypocrisy. If there ever is a time when the patriarch needs to have both eyes open, it is when his five children gather about the "Olympian" when he addresses the Unseen. One can with safety be blind, deaf, and absent-minded at any other moment. The teacher at worship must read every sign which reveals the inner consciousness of children at prayer. We are in great danger of sacrificing our children to conventional form. The most beautiful rituals of worship are conducted with open eyes. Some of us, brought up to distrust printed prayers, are coming to discover that they may occasionally be so used as to deliver us from slavery to stereotyped "extempore" forms.

How simple and natural was the act in which Jesus instituted the eucharist: "And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, saying, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them; and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many. And when they had sung a hymn they went out." No child would desire to run away from that dramatized prayer. The study is ineffably sweet. The Master who taught little children to regard themselves as his own by taking them into his gentle and affectionate embrace, is always ready to use physical

symbols to help those who live in the flesh to press their way by tangible and visible means into the meaning of the divine word. Why should the members of a family retire from the table to proceed in stately order to a service which is cut off from the happiness, comfort, laughter, and joy of the natural meeting of all? Why should they turn their backs on each other when the Giver of all good is addressed? Why should not the children themselves seek out and bring to that place the finest expressions of adoration and gratitude which literature can furnish? Many a wise mother has learned by holy instinct that it is a sacred privilege to connect the brief phrase of hope and trust with the evening caress and the delicious revery of a child falling asleep. Too often the formal family worship is torture and its words but vain repetitions, the tone neither of earth nor of heaven. The voice is that of an actor, and reality has gone out of it.

If the children are studying German at school, they might well repeat the touching sentence which reminds one of Fra Angelico's "Pilgrim Christ:"

> Komm, Herr Jesu, sei unser Gast,
> Und segne was Du uns bescheret hast.
> (Come, Lord Jesus, be our guest,
> And bless what thou hast given us.)

The home ever remains the primary temple, and the light of worship on the altar must not go out, lest the world grow dark. Worship should be a natural, sincere, and joyous part of a great life of love, order, beauty, wisdom, and happiness; the children should be active agents in its observance; and its ritual should be symbols taken from the ordinary acts of familiar life, as Jesus made of the common meal the lasting memorial of himself and the central mystery of the Christian church.

> In liberty of holy glee,
> Accept thy childhood's part,
> And thou shalt find, by faith enshrined,
> The Father in thy heart.

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MODERN CRITICISM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The cause of faith has suffered from the metaphor which pictures Christianity as a fortress defended against overwhelming odds, although the figure has been used with a sincere desire to serve the interests of the truth. Doctrines once held to be essential, but now abandoned, have been compared to the outposts of a besieged city, which may be given up without weakening the main position. The idea is true, and the figure might be useful, if we could confine our attention to the one point illustrated. But the picture of the beleaguered citadel and the surrendered outposts suggests much that is misleading and depressing.

When we speak of obsolete dogmas as outlying defenses, we suggest that the domain of Christianity is a set of doctrines; that, if Christians professed belief in the contents of some Talmud in several large volumes, Christianity would be flourishing; but that it would peak and pine and dwindle as the number and bulk of its doctrinal standards were reduced. But the domain of Christianity is the hearts and wills and consciences of men. Again, the church is not a beleaguered garrison; it is a mobile army conducting an aggressive campaign.

In this warfare the service of criticism is twofold: it relieves the church of much that would cripple its energy, and also enables the preacher to set forth revealed truth in the most convincing fashion.

I. CRITICISM RELIEVES APOLOGETICS OF FUTILE TASKS

It is easy to label such work as "negative" or "destructive," and to persuade confiding disciples that these epithets settle the question. It would be just as sensible to denounce washing as a negative process which destroys the coating of dirt provided by beneficent nature. Because Christianity is the greatest force in the world,

men are eager to exploit it as financiers exploit the forces and products of nature — coal, cotton, and electricity. Every enthusiast, every maker of theories, every exponent of dogmatics, seeks to secure the tremendous energy of Christian faith and fervor for his favorite doctrine or his pet reform. One is reminded of a familiar sight. A van may sometimes be seen going uphill, with a couple of errand boys on tricycles holding on behind. The church, too, labors forward with a whole string of private and party enterprises tacked on it, and the representative of each of these loudly maintains that the dragging of his particular tricycle is the one thing essential to the safety, permanence, and ultimate success of Christianity. Again, we may take another illustration. Strange stories are told of the transport department of the British army during the Boer war. How far any of them are true we cannot say. But it is said that the baggage wagons of flying columns carried pianos and cooking-stoves and cases of champagne. Orders to leave such luxuries behind were doubtless regarded as destructive criticism. The baggage wagons, so to speak, of the church have been piled high with the opinions, right or wrong, of preachers and divines, prelates, popes, and councils; and the energy that should have advanced the cause of the gospel has been wasted in dragging about useless lumber. Only the constant activity of criticism can deliver the church from these unnecessary burdens, and protect it from the efforts which are made to exploit religion for the benefit of sectarian interests.

Or, somewhat differently, it is vital to apologetics to know what is to be defended or advocated. Current handbooks often seek to establish a number of heterogeneous propositions, an amalgam of precious metals and alloy—truth and error; some things that are doubtful and always will be doubtful, and much that may be true or may not, but is quite irrelevant to the essential truths of Christianity. Here, again, criticism comes in to set aside the irrelevant, the doubtful, and the erroneous, to concentrate apologetics upon the great doctrines which concern man's fellowship and friendship with God.

Thus criticism has relieved apologetics of many useless burdens.

1. *There are many questions of date and authorship with which apologetics is no longer concerned.* — It is no longer necessary to

waste time and energy on the hopeless task of proving that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch; that Isaiah was the author of all the contents of our present Book of Isaiah; or that the Book of Daniel was written by Daniel. These and many similar questions may still be discussed, but it is recognized that they involve no item of essential Christian truth.

2. *It is largely due to criticism that apologetics has been relieved of the fatal difficulties arising out of the popular error that Christianity stands or falls with the verbal inspiration of the Bible.*—Perhaps the greatest relief obtained by modern apologetics—a relief largely due to the persistent activity of criticism—is the recognition that the doctrine of the verbal or literal inspiration of the Bible is not an essential doctrine of Christianity; the earnest believer who desires to appropriate all the privileges of the gospel need not accept verbal inspiration; and the faithful minister who seeks to declare the whole counsel of God need not preach verbal inspiration. An intolerable burden is removed. There is no possible way of proving that every verse of every book in the Bible is inspired in its literal sense. The Acts of the Apostles, for instance, makes no such claim for itself, nor does any other part of the Bible make any such claim on its behalf. The only ground on which the doctrine of verbal inspiration could be maintained would be that it was sanctioned by the church or by the general consent of Christendom. The church has never sanctioned the doctrine, and Christendom has never agreed to it. Here, as in many other cases, what is sometimes popularly supposed to be orthodox is really a heresy, an exaggeration, a distortion, a caricature of the true doctrine of the church. The doctrine is, indeed, laid down by an authority here and there; but, speaking generally, it has no place in the standards, creeds, or confessions of the great communions; e. g. the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the canons of the early ecumenical councils, the Westminster Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles. It is not the teaching of the Bible, nor yet of the church.

At this time of day to write thus about verbal inspiration may seem to be flogging a dead horse; but there is still much misunderstanding on this subject. Not so many years ago a preacher was addressing an audience of workingmen to whom he wished to com-

mend the gospel. He began by saying that the first thing necessary was that they should accept every word of the Bible from cover to cover as the inspired word of God. Similar statements, I fear, are still made in the heat of oratory; and the public are led to believe that verbal inspiration is held by many speakers who would refuse to accept any such formal doctrine in their calmer moods.

But even those who claim liberty in this matter often use it capriciously. We rejoice in liberty when the bondage of the letter is irksome to us; but when the letter suits us, favors our views, and upholds our prejudices, we are eager to make it binding on our neighbor; and if he objects, we denounce him as an enemy of the Bible. The Protestant, for instance, is in favor of a very free interpretation of what may be called Romanist texts, while he insists that Protestant texts are inspired in a strictly literal sense. There are temperance advocates, who, claiming strict views on inspiration, are lax as to such injunctions as, "Give wine unto those that be of heavy hearts;" and some woman who are in general zealous for traditional views seem to have a poor opinion of Paul's teaching as to the position of women in the church. To revert to our former illustration, most Christians think that the baggage wagons ought to carry their own little luxuries, but should not be cumbered with superfluities for their neighbors.

It is desirable to lay down principles which will extend the same liberty to all; and here again criticism can make its contribution.

3. *A biblical narrative is not necessarily a scientific, accurate statement of facts.*—An inspired narrative need not always be a perfectly accurate account of actual events which happened to historical personages; it may be only substantially accurate; it may be a piece of tribal history in the form of a story about individuals; it may be an allegory, a parable, or a symbolical narrative; and in all these cases it may be none the less inspired. Some of the biblical narratives whose inspiration makes itself most strongly felt are not actual history; for instance, the Parable of the Prodigal Son.

Here, again, there is an immense relief to apologetics. It is no part of essential Christian doctrine that the account of the creation is accurate science, or that the story of Joseph is accurate history. It is no longer necessary to reconcile the Bible with science, or with

the inscriptions, or to prove that Abraham was an historical personage. Such matters may be left to students of history; they are not relevant to modern apologetics.

4. *Christ is the standard of revelation.*—This point is not new; it has always been understood that the teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures must be interpreted and corrected by the New Testament, and, above all, that the teaching and character, the life and work, of Christ are the supreme standard of revelation. This was Luther's position. But this truth also has been obscured and perverted by popular theology, and it has been supposed that Christians were bound to defend the morality of all teaching and laws found in the Old Testament, and of all that was done by the worthies of Israel, unless it was expressly condemned by the sacred narrative. Criticism relieves apologetics of this hopeless task. If we find teaching inconsistent with the high ideals of Christ, we need not convince ourselves or teach others that it is a perfect revelation from God. Such passages are men's report of the revelation they received, the new truth they were taught by God. But human understanding is limited, and men state the truth in the imperfect way in which they have understood it. Man's spiritual discrimination is not absolutely certain; he may confound and combine with revelation error received from tradition. Human language is a clumsy vehicle for absolute truth; it needs centuries of spiritual experience to find words and idioms to express the experience adequately. You could not translate the Nicene Creed into biblical Hebrew. The first attempt to formulate a doctrine can be only a very rough approximation.

Let us take an example. It is part of the Old Testament revelation that God hates evil and protects the weak; but sometimes these truths appear in strange disguises. Deut. 20: 10–18 tells us that God commanded the Israelites to exterminate the inhabitants of the Canaanite cities, men, women, children, and cattle; and Josh., chap. 11, tells us that the Israelites obeyed. Again, Exod. 20: 22; 21:20, 21, tell us that God bade Moses make a law that if a man beat his female slave, and she died under his hand, he should be punished; but if she lingered a day or two, he should not be punished, because she was his money. Now, as a Christian who accepts the

Bible as a guide to truth and salvation, am I bound to maintain that these passages which describe God as demanding wholesale, indiscriminate massacre, and as sanctioning the flogging of slaves, are an accurate portion of God's revelation of his character and nature? Anyone who is not prepared to maintain this has no right to use vague rhetoric about every sentence in the Bible being in a literal, straightforward sense, just as it stands, a revelation from God. And if he seeks relief for himself on such points, he has no right to denounce those who seek relief on other matters.

But according to the principle enunciated above, the position is very simple. In each of these passages there is the gold of divine truth, and also the alloy of human error. As to the slaves, what was new and divine was the idea that they had a right to humane treatment at all. The very limited practical application of the idea was due to dull apprehension, traditional prejudices, and vested interests. The belief that it was a sacred duty to massacre enemies was a distorted recognition of the truth that God hates evil, a man's enemies being naturally regarded as very wicked.

These and other examples show that the task of apologetics is made much easier when we renounce verbal inspiration, when we refuse to make the spiritual value of biblical narratives depend on their historical or scientific accuracy, and when we acknowledge a measure of human imperfection in the way in which the truths of revelation are stated. Criticism may claim the blessings which are implicitly promised to those who remove stumbling-blocks out of the way of Christ's little ones.

II. CRITICISM FURNISHES APOLOGETICS WITH POWERFUL WEAPONS

The apologetic value of criticism is not merely negative; it also makes large positive contributions to the advocacy of Christian faith.

1. *The purpose of the biblical narratives is religious edification.*— Criticism does not merely deny that the Bible is a manual of ancient history; it asserts that its narratives are first and foremost and pre-eminently a means of grace. Thus the advocates of Christianity and of the Bible are directed to lay stress upon what is capable of demonstration, if, indeed, it is not obvious to any earnest, open-minded seeker after truth. Criticism thus recalls Christians from

quibbles and quarrels about irrelevant details to the spiritual teaching illustrated by way of warning or example by the characters of sacred story.

2. *The recognition of the composite nature of many books of the Bible.*—Many books of the Bible are composite. Large portions of their contents were not written by the authors of the books in their present form, but borrowed by them from earlier works. The Pentateuch, for instance, was compiled from older documents; and the Book of Isaiah is a collection of prophecies, an anthology compiled long after the time of Isaiah. The authors or editors, therefore, of our present books were not originally responsible for the statements they contain. They simply place this older material before us, that we may read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them. They do so in the belief that such studies will be for our spiritual welfare; but they do not necessarily indorse all that they record.

This recognition of composite authorship is a very shield of faith which quenches the fiery darts of skepticism. One great difficulty thrust upon us by verbal inspiration is that *prima facie* the Bible so often contradicts itself, sometimes in successive chapters, or even paragraphs. But this ceases to be a difficulty when we understand that these contradictory statements are not actually made by the authors of the present books, but merely borrowed from older works. When a writer quotes two contradictory accounts of an incident, he does not indorse either; he is not giving his own view at all, but says, virtually: "I present you with such evidence as I have been able to collect, and leave you to draw your own conclusions."

Let us take an illustration. A war correspondent has died, and his notebooks are examined by his literary executor. In one of them are found two inconsistent accounts of an incident in the siege of Port Arthur. We should at once understand that he did not give his own story of the event, but preserved versions of the affair given by two conflicting authorities. These notes were not meant for final, positive history; they are simply material from which history is to be constructed. Many of the narrative portions of the Bible are the notebooks of ancient scholars; their contents are not so much history as the material for history.

The principle may be extended to the Bible as a whole. Sometimes inconsistent accounts of the same event are found in different books. In such cases the Bible does not commit itself to any account, but preserves evidence from which the story may be reconstructed. If, without irreverence, we may venture to speak of God as the author of the Bible, we cannot think of him as presenting us with a number of inconsistent statements and requiring us to believe that they are all exactly true; but we can understand that he has preserved a set of data, and left us to write the history; just as in the structure of the earth he has presented us with certain data, and left us to construct a science of geology.

3. *Progressive revelation.*—This principle sets forth God's dealings with men in a most impressive fashion. We are shown God devoting himself for thousands of years to the moral and spiritual education of the race; he adapts his teaching with infinite patience to the limitations of primitive times; as man's capacity develops slowly, generation after generation, God by slow degrees makes himself more fully known. But religion has not always advanced; again and again there have been a reversion to savage superstition and immoral fanaticism, and a failure of faith, insight, and fervor. The divine love has not abandoned its task; seeming defects have issued in more glorious triumphs. At last the incarnation was the climax of the divine working.

The Bible records not only successive revelations, but also primitive superstitions, and human misunderstandings and perversions of divine truth. We are thus able to gage in some measure the wonderful achievements of God's grace, and the difficulties that had to be overcome. We contrast the dim twilight of early faith with the midday splendor of Christianity. In the uncertain light and shifting mists of the dawn much was hidden; many things were distorted; what was real seemed shadowy and ghost-like, and cloud-begotten phantoms seemed to have substantial being. We judge, we criticise, such impressions by the visions we obtain in clearer light. And thus, to change the figure, discerning the abysmal depths from which religion started, following its long and painful ascent, we realize the lofty pinnacle on which Christ stands, and are able to believe that in him the fulness of the Godhead is incarnate.

In these and other ways, criticism, on its positive side, enables us to present the Christian faith in a fashion which commands the assent of heart and mind, and will and conscience. Modern skepticism must be met by modern criticism, apologetics, and theology. To allow our young men to face the skepticism of today with mediæval, or rather rabbinic, criticism, is like fighting ironclads with wooden sailing-ships manned with archers.

INTERVIEWS WITH OLD TESTAMENT SCHOLARS ON LIVING PROBLEMS

For the purpose of giving to its readers a general view of the present state of biblical study in the United States, the *Biblical World* has requested several biblical scholars to return brief answers to a list of questions submitted to them. That the reader might have the advantage of a comparison of the views, divergent or concurrent, of different scholars, the same questions were submitted to all the scholars in a particular field. Two of the "written interviews" thus secured are published below.—*Editors.*

INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR BEECHER

1. Define in a few words your point of view in biblical study.

I suppose that the question does not refer to the conclusions I have reached, but to the point of view I adopt at the outset of an investigation of the Bible and its contents.

All scholars alike would probably accept the principle that such an investigation is to be conducted solely by the examination of the phenomena—the facts in the case—without presuppositions drawn from other sources. It seems to me that some scholars, consciously or unconsciously, base their investigations on the presupposition that the Scriptures are uniquely inspired, and that others go on the presupposition that the Scriptures are not uniquely inspired. I try to avoid both these presuppositions. The second is as unscientific as the first, and lacks certain safeguards that attend the first.

What is thus true of any theory of inspiration, positive or negative, is equally true of any theory of biblical criticism or of comparative religion or of evolution. If one admits anything of this sort as a presupposition, his results are valid only for those who accept the same presupposition. All these alike, in their relations to the Bible, are dependent on the facts given in the Bible. To make the study of the Bible depend on them is to reason in a circle. It is a thing that should be done only in cases in which reasoning in a circle is legitimate. All alike are to be regarded as structures to be built

largely of materials quarried from the Scripture, and not as quarries whence materials for Scripture study may be dug.

The facts to be examined in Scripture study are first of all the Scriptures themselves as they exist. They constitute a great fact, presenting itself in numberless details. To this should be added all other matters of fact—fact as distinguished from theory or hypothesis—that concern the Scriptures, including prominently the facts furnished by exploration and by language study. On the whole, the matters of fact that have been most neglected, and that are therefore most in need of careful examination, are the statements made in the Scriptures.

Scripture statements of fact are not to be rejected without first taking the trouble to understand them, nor on grounds which we would object to if applied to statements which we ourselves might make.

To prevent misapprehension, let me add that I hold very positive convictions, as the result of my studies, on several matters that I refuse to entertain as presuppositions in the studies themselves, and in particular on the truthfulness and the unique inspiration of the Scriptures.

2. When did you adopt this point of view, and what was the decisive reason that might have occasioned the adopting of it?

I was brought up that way. The truth and the great importance of these principles of investigation were accentuated for me when I came to touch the current controversies over the higher criticism, by reason of the wholesale violation of them in books and articles which I read on the different sides of the different questions.

3. What were the greatest obstacles you have had to overcome in your work as scholar and teacher?

The chronic unwillingness of the human mind to take the trouble to understand the evidence in any given case, and settle the question purely on the evidence. The readiness instead to take sides, making the assumption, often groundless, that one of two opposing sides must be the right side. The readiness to defend the old because it is old, or the new because it is new, or the striking because it is striking. The readiness to settle a question by reading extensively and guessing at an average, rather than by legitimate study. The

habit of prematurely announcing the overthrow of received opinions, substituting for them opinions that turned out to be ephemeral.

4. In what respects has there been progress in biblical study within the period of your observance?

In the accumulation of material, archæological, geographical, grammatical, lexicological, etc.

In the understanding of Hebrew and Greek syntax.

In the recovery of the Assyrian and other oriental languages.

In the rendering of biblical materials accessible in many bibliothecas of various kinds. Books of reference are immeasurably richer than at the time when I began to observe, even though some of them are characterized by teachings that are transitional and ephemeral.

In the reaching of a common understanding in many matters of detail.

To a limited extent, in the recognition of the literary character of the Scriptures, as distinguished from the mechanical study of matters of literary detail.

To a limited extent and with qualifications, in pedagogical methods.

There is a *per contra* side, of which one of the largest items is the dying out of the habit of reading the Bible, and the consequent lessening of the familiarity of the public with its contents.

5. Will you mention some of the most important pending questions in Old Testament study?

The one supremely important question is that of the meaning of the contents of the Old Testament, as distinguished, on the one hand, from all deteriorated traditional meanings, and, on the other hand, from all feats of modern conjecture.

6. In what direction do you look for progress in the immediate future?

In the taking of an interest in the contents and the existing form of the Scriptures, in preference to less important matters.

7. To what extent is the church at large likely to accept the so-called modern critical view of the Bible?

The church has already accepted it to the extent of giving it hospitable treatment. As it contains nothing that is of any use to the church, I do not see how the church can go further.

8. What is your view of the *Bibel-Babel* controversy?

The things said by Professor Delitzsch before the emperor were not different from the things that men of his type have been constantly saying in print for many years. The incident seems to me principally significant as illustrating two points: First, by the right kind of advertising you can call public attention to anything. Second, when you call attention to a matter by advertising, the people who know something about it and the people who know nothing about it will be able to talk about it on nearly equal terms.

9. What do you regard as the relation of the Hammurabi code to the Mosaic code?

The question uses the term "Mosaic code" with some latitude. Supposing the Mosaic legislation to have been given by Moses, he of course made it largely a digest of usages that were already prevalent in Israel. If Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, these usages, or some of them, arose in the same civilization with the Hammurabi code. The question how far either drew from the other, or both from a common source, is as unimportant as it is unsolvable. In a relatively small area they treat of common subjects, and present resemblances and differences. The one significant fact is the immeasurable superiority of the Israelitish laws as a whole. It would be legitimate for an inspired writer to draw from Babylonian sources, if that suited his purpose.

10. What is your opinion of Cheyne's Jerahmeel hypothesis?

Some of Dr. Cheyne's critical and historical work seems to me in contrast with his remarkably fine literary work. His line of Jerahmeel conclusions does not seem to me particularly more wild than many of his other conclusions, or than some of the critical performances of some of the men who poke fun at Jerahmeel.

11. What do you think of Sayce's view of the bearing of archæological study on Old Testament study?

It is inadequate and unequal in its parts, but in a general way correct.

12. In your opinion, should the study of Hebrew be required or elective in the theological course?

Required, unless the entire course is made elective. But a man

otherwise well qualified should not be shut out of the ministry merely by his lack of Hebrew.

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INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR MOORE

1. Define in a few words your point of view in biblical study.

My studies have been chiefly historical. I have tried to unite the philological and critical investigation of the sources with knowledge of tradition, of oriental history and archæology, and of the history of religions, and to employ the results constructively in accordance with established historical methods. On the fundamental critical problems of the Old Testament I hold the opinions which have prevailed among historical students in the last generation.

2. When did you adopt this point of view, and what was the decisive reason that might have occasioned the adopting of it?

My student years (from 1875 on) coincided with the advent of what was then the "new criticism." From the position of Ewald to that of Kuenen and Wellhausen the step was inevitable as soon as the so-called priestly stratum of the Hexateuch was more thoroughly examined, and compared with the best established facts in the religious history of Israel. Subsequent studies have made clearer the highly composite character of the legislation, and have led me to views about the development and transmission of the ritual and ceremonial laws differing somewhat widely from those which I formerly entertained.

3. What were the greatest obstacles you have had to overcome in your work as scholar and teacher?

I cannot say that I have ever been seriously hindered by anything except the limitations of my own knowledge and powers. I have always enjoyed the fullest freedom of learning and teaching.

4. In what respects has there been progress in biblical study within the period of your observation?

In the great enlargement of knowledge which has come through discovery and research in the East, especially in Babylonia; in the working out of many critical problems in the Old Testament; and

in the more thorough and sympathetic study of the literature and religion of the Jews from the Persian period on.

5. Will you mention some of the most important pending questions in Old Testament study?

The relation of Israelite civilization to that of other Semitic peoples; the history of the ritual and ceremonial law; the history of Judaism from the time of Alexander to that of the Antonines; the relation of early Christianity to Judaism.

6. In what direction do you look for progress in the immediate future?

The condition of progress is a sounder apprehension of the true problems of the historian. In the past generation many students seem to have regarded the analysis and recovery of the sources as an end in itself, instead of a process strictly subsidiary to interpretation and construction. Some of the younger generation appear inclined to dissolve not only the Israelite legend but the history of the kingdoms into a phantasmagoria of Babylonian mythology. A second condition is a broader and more accurate learning, in which some of our most adventurous spirits are conspicuously lacking.

7. To what extent is the church at large likely to accept the so-called modern critical view of the Bible?

All that we can expect or desire the church at large to accept is the principle that the Bible, as an historical product, is to be interpreted by the historian in conformity with the methods of his art; and that only in this way can an historical understanding of the progress of religion be attained.

8. What is your view of the *Babel-Bibel* controversy?

That it is of no scientific interest.

9. What do you regard as the relation of the Hammurabi code to the Mosaic code?

In view of the known influence of Babylon on Canaanite civilization, and the adoption of Canaanite civilization by the Israelites, it is not improbable that certain parts of the Hebrew laws were indirectly dependent on Babylonian legislation. This dependence is hardly demonstrable in particulars, because the coincidences in content and expression are common to various other legislations in which Babylonian influence cannot be suspected.

10. What is your opinion of Cheyne's Jerahmeel hypothesis?

That it violates every possible principle of philological and historical method.

11. What do you think of Sayce's view of the bearing of archæological study in Old Testament study?

The historian welcomes all evidence, of every kind and from every quarter, that bears directly or indirectly upon his subject; and is bound to give it the more careful consideration if it seems to conflict with his previous opinions or hypotheses. To the smallest bit of solid fact the most imposing theory must cede. There is no controversy about the general principle. But Professor Sayce's interpretations and combinations of monumental or archæological evidence are not facts—though he often seems to think so. They are only his theories, good or bad, and as such have no other authority than their intrinsic probability.

12. In your opinion, should the study of Hebrew be required or elective in the Theological course?

I do not think it is wise to require Hebrew of all students of theology. Many men would undoubtedly spend their time to more profit on the contents of the Old Testament than on its original language.

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SCIENCE AS A TEACHER OF MORALITY[1]

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The subject does not imply that science is professedly a teacher of morality, but that incidentally it makes for righteousness. It would be comparatively simple to select from its contributions to knowledge many that have strongly enforced the necessity of morality; or to point out that its conception of the inevitable consequences of acts has shown that results are a matter of course rather than of chance. To my mind, however, valuable as these contributions may be, they are but superficial indications of an attitude of mind which represents the chief contribution of science to morality. To give a clear conception of the relation of this attitude of mind to morality is difficult, for it is somewhat intangible, and to a certain extent prophetic; but to me it seems to be the most important phase of the subject.

It should be further understood that the subject does not imply that science can replace religion as a teacher of morality; but that, in so far as it contributes anything to morality, it reinforces religion.

"Science" is a term of convenience rather than of exactness, and hence I must state at once that in this paper it means what is called "the scientific spirit," which is a certain attitude of mind. Before attempting to state its relations to morality, I wish to indicate what it is by noting some of its characteristics.

1. *It is a spirit of inquiry.*—In our experience we encounter a vast body of established belief in reference to all important subjects. Nothing seems more evident than that this body of belief belongs to two categories: (1) the priceless result of generations of experience, and (2) heirloom rubbish. Toward this the scientific attitude is one of unprejudiced inquiry. It is not the spirit of iconoclasm, as some would believe, but an examination of the foundations of

[1] An address given before the Religious Education Association, at its Third Annual Convention, Boston, Mass., February 12–16, 1905.

belief. It must be evident that this spirit is directly opposed to intolerance, and that it can find no common ground with those who confidently, and perhaps somewhat violently, affirm that the present organization of society is as good as it can be; or that the past has discovered all that is best in education; or that the mission of religion is to conserve the past rather than to grow into the future. This is not the spirit of unrest, of discomfort, but the evidence of a mind whose every avenue is open to the approach of truth from every direction. I hasten to say that this beneficent result of scientific training does not come to all those who cultivate it, any more than is the Christ-like character developed in all those who profess Christianity. I regret to say that even some who bear great names in science have been as dogmatic as the most rampant theologian. But the dogmatic scientist and theologian are not to be taken as examples of the "peaceable fruits of righteousness," for the general ameliorating influence of religion and of science is none the less apparent. It is not the speech of the conspicuous few that is leavening the lump of human thought, but the quiet work of thousands of teachers. Scorn and ridicule of things that others hold in respect are not the attitude of science. Its function is to search for truth and to present it supported by such a convincing body of evidence that error will disappear without being attacked. It is the expulsive power of new knowledge that must be relied upon to unsettle ignorant opinion.

2. *It demands that there shall be no hiatus between an effect and its claimed cause, and that the cause claimed shall be adequate.*—It is in the laboratory that one first really appreciates how many factors must be taken into the count in considering any result, and what an element of uncertainty an unknown factor introduces. In the very simplest cases, where we have approximated certainty in the manipulation of factors to produce results, there is still lurking an element of chance, which simply means an unknown, and hence uncontrolled, factor. Even when the factors are well in hand, and we can combine them with reasonable certainty that the result will appear, we may be entirely wrong in our conclusion as to what in the combination has produced the result. For example, we have been changing the forms of certain plants at will, by exposing them to varying combinations of certain substances. It was perhaps natural to conclude

that the chemical structure of these substances is responsible for the result, and our prescription was narrowed to certain substances. Now, however, it is discovered that the results are not due to the chemical nature of the substances, but to a particular physical condition that is developed by their combination—a condition that may be developed by the combination of other substances, or of things that are not substances; so that our prescription is much enlarged.

There is a broad application here. For example, in education we are in danger of slavery to subjects. Having observed that certain ones may be used to produce certain results, we prescribe them as essential to the process, without taking into account the possibility that other subjects may produce similar results. In religion we are in danger of formulating some specific line of conduct as essential to the result, and of condemning those who do not adhere to it. That there may be many lines of approach to a given general condition is a hard lesson for mankind to learn.

If it is so difficult to get at the real factors of a simple result in the laboratory, and still more difficult to interpret the significance of factors when found, in what condition must we be in reference to the immensely more difficult and subtle problems which confront us in social organization, government, education, and religion?

The habit of considering only one factor, when perhaps scores are involved, indicates a very primitive and untrained condition of mind. It is fortunate when the leaders of opinion have got hold of one real factor. They may overdo it, and work damage by insisting upon some special form of action on account of it, but, so far as it goes, it is the truth. It is more apt to be the case, however, that the factor claimed holds no relation whatsoever to the result, and then the noxious weeds of demagoguery and charlatanism flourish. It is to such blindness that scientific training is slowly bringing a little glimmer of light, and when the world one day opens its eyes—and it will be well for it to open them very gradually—the old things will have passed away.

3. *It keeps one close to the facts.*—There seems to be abroad a notion that one may start with a single well-attested fact, and by some logical machinery construct an elaborate system and reach an authentic conclusion; much as the world has imagined that Cuvier could

do if a single bone were furnished him. The result is bad, even though the fact may have an unclouded title. But it too often happens that great superstructures have been reared upon a fact which is claimed rather than demonstrated. Facts are like stepping-stones; so long as one can get a reasonably close series of them, he can make some progress in a given direction, but when he steps beyond them, he flounders. As one travels away from a fact, its significance in any conclusion becomes more and more attenuated, until presently the vanishing-point is reached, like the rays of light from a candle. A fact is really influential only in its own immediate vicinity; but the whole structure of many a system lies in the region beyond the vanishing-point. Such "vain imaginings" are delightfully seductive to many people, whose life and conduct are even shaped by them. I have been amazed at the large development of this phase of emotional insanity, often passing under the name of "subtle thinking."

Science teaches that it is dangerous to stray away very far from the facts, and that the farther one strays away, the more dangerous it becomes, almost inevitably leading to self-deception.

The attitude of mind which training in science tends to cultivate has been illustrated sufficiently for our purpose. The moral aspects of it seem to me to be quite evident even in this partial analysis. It is open to the truth; it seeks for trustworthy evidence in reference to it; if necessary, it strives to strip off the husks of human opinion that it may get at the kernel; and when found it accepts it with ardor.

It may be well, however, to carry this subject forward to a more definite stage. Without pretending to any knowledge of the philosophy of morality, and still more ignorant of its terminology, I wish to indicate the attitude of the scientific mind toward those questions that affect personal and social conduct. The problem is to develop an effective man and an effective social order. From the standpoint of science, the various moral codes that have been formulated do not have any suggestion of commands. They are attempted statements of truth, which therefore must be tested. To take an extreme illustration: the set of moral principles contained in the Ten Commandments or in the Sermon on the Mount are not authoritative because they are commanded, but because they are true. Science would never raise the question whether the Ten Commandments or the Sermon

on the Mount are "binding" upon this nation or upon that, or upon this generation or upon some other; but simply whether they contain principles essential to a well-ordered individual or society; if so, they are true and *always* apply *everywhere*, just as does what we call the "law of gravitation." Newton has the reputation of having announced the law of gravitation, which science prefers to call a mode of operation rather than a "law;" but I presume that no one would say that this law is binding upon us because Newton announced it. The world, like the individual, grows in knowledge; and the childhood of the race was compelled to receive as commands what maturity recognizes as statements of eternal truth, infinitely more binding than any commands could be. There is no resenting truth and no quibbling about it; obedience is imperative. Moral truth, therefore, has the eternal and binding qualities of the truths of nature, which we call laws. I count this scientific attitude toward morality to be a distinct contribution toward its enforcement. I recognize freely that when this compelling power of knowledge is reinforced by the attraction of a noble emotion, there is a tremendous gain, but such reinforcement is the peculiar function of Christianity.

As a further illustration, showing how science reinforces religion as a teacher of morality, it may not be out of place to outline a scientific approach to the fundamentals of morality and even of Christianity—an approach that has proved satisfactory to many students trained in science. If a plant is to develop to the fullest possible vigor, it must establish effective relationships with its surroundings; otherwise it will be a failure. A leaf, to be strong and useful, must establish relations with the air and the sunshine. If a root seeks to establish the same relations, it will be a failure, but relations with the soil will make it strong and useful. This well-known biological law furnishes a clue to the problem of a strong and effective human life. It must establish effective relationships with its necessary environment.

The first step is to discover what are the dominating factors in the environment of a human life. At least two conspicuous factors are one's self and one's fellow-men. The problem, then, is to discover the most effective adjustment to these factors—an adjustment that means growth and the highest expression of the human powers; in other words, making the most of one's self.

The next step is to discover illustrations of the most effective lives, and at this point the perspective of the investigator comes into play. Compelled to consider the things that really make life worth the living, the things that are to give a quiet mind in the retrospect, it is rare that the most desirable lives are not chosen. Pressing the search for the completest exemplification of the most effective life, the lines all focus in the person of Jesus Christ, and this quite apart from any peculiar claim made for him. I have found absolute unanimity in the judgment that no life, in all that makes for strength and effectiveness, has approached that of Jesus Christ. It seems to be a human life at the limit of its capacity.

The next step in the investigation is to discover the solution offered by such a life to the problem of effective adjustment *of* one's self and *to* one's fellow-men. No questions of authenticity enter into such an investigation; for even if such a person never existed, the character is clearly drawn, and it stands as a definite conception of the finest possible man.

The investigator recognizes that he himself is a bundle of contradictory impulses, all of which cannot dominate, and some of which must. The grosser ones he recognizes off-hand as dangerous, and they are eliminated from the investigation. But among the finer ones, to choose that one to dominate which will make the most effective life is not so easy. An investigation of the personal character of Christ reveals the fact that he selected *unselfishness* to dominate—a selection that squarely holds in check the strongest natural impulse. The difficulty of this adjustment is unquestionable; no more difficult one could be suggested; but it means the difference between the sun pulling everything to itself, and the sun radiating light and energy in every direction. Testing the conclusion by the lives that have actually touched his own, the investigator finds abundant confirmation, for the effective lives are radiating centers of energy.

The problem of one's effective adjustment to his fellow-men is even more perplexing; but the model studied says clearly that the answer is *service;* not service that seeks a return, but service prompted by love. And again personal observation says that this is true.

Perhaps you are not aware of the strong appeal that love as a stimulus to right conduct makes to the scientific mind. The scientific

man is accustomed to stimuli and their responses, and he is fully alive to the fact that all that is finest in human conduct is a response to the stimulus of love. Therefore, in a religion whose basic principle is love, and whose God is the personification of infinite love, he recognizes an influence on personal character and on social order that must regenerate both, when fully applied.

Thus the effective adjustments are found, and the life that seeks to develop by selecting unselfishness and service as dominant principles is well started on its way toward religion.

I wish to remind you again that this is no fancy sketch of what might occur and probably never has occurred, but a very brief statement of the successive steps that have often been taken by men whose training demands an approach of this kind or none at all.

It is not clear to me that you will regard such results as of very large value, especially if you are not familiar with the scientific attitude of mind and the steps it must take to reach a conclusion that brings conviction and self-application. And yet it means to me that the scientific mind is open to moral truth, is incapable of being diverted from it by prejudice or second-hand opinion, and is compelled to accept and apply it when recognized. It is an attitude of mind peculiarly intolerant of sham or cant, and likely to brush aside unessentials that do not seem such to all; but this comes not only from its training, but is also one of the things it has learned to admire in the life of Jesus Christ. I am afraid that it is little interested in dogmatic theology, for the data, methods, and conclusions of theology are to it like a foreign tongue; but I make bold to say that it is immensely interested in morality and religion, and none appeals to it so strongly as do the morality and religion of Jesus Christ.

It is impossible to overestimate the effect of the scientific spirit, which dominates modern scholarship, upon that general attitude of mind that is making the world at large more sane and better able to repress unbalanced thinking. From this point of view, it would seem as though scholarship had at last entered upon its serious mission of curbing the irrelevant emotions of mankind, and of introducing that intellectual domination which must analyze problems to their ultimate factors and construct general systems of belief that are rational and effective.

THE MANY-SIDED CHRIST

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Experience leads us to associate in groups mental, moral, and physical characteristics. We say that certain of these characteristics belong together. A marked characteristic of one group is not expected in a man whose characteristics in general belong to another group. With great confidence we pronounce on men in this matter. The thick lips, and especially the kinky hair, of the negro are not found in the true Caucasian. Higher criticism says with positiveness that the latter part of Isaiah was not written by the man who wrote much of the first part: the characteristics are too divergent. So some men say that the Jesus of John is not the Jesus of the synoptists. That is the problem before us now.

I. Let us take up first the picture of Jesus as given in the synoptic gospels. When closely studied, the man Jesus appears in the synoptists much broader and more varied than is perhaps usually thought. The picture of Christ in the first three gospels is like a composite photograph; there is a general outline, but with very divergent types included. The many-sidedness of the Christ of the synoptists is somewhat startling.

It may be said that there are at least three different men, all called Jesus, in the story of the synoptists. That is, characteristics are ascribed to him which belong to at least three different groups, each of these groups ordinarily separated from the others and usually supposed to betoken a different man.

There is Jesus the practical man of affairs. He is a hard-headed, common-sense business man. He insists on his baptism at the hands of John the Baptist, to conform to prophecy and precedent —as a wise inauguration of his mission (Matt. 3:13–17). On hearing of John's imprisonment (Matt. 4:12), he sees that he is in peril in Judea, and retires to Galilee. Again, on hearing of John's death, with like prudence he retreats to a desert place (Matt. 14:13).

He breaks upon the Jewish and Galilean world with a definite, clearly defined mission: "Repent, the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. 4:17). Clearly and boldly, like a man who knows the point at which he aims and in a practical way sets himself to it, Jesus proclaimed himself to his townsmen in Nazareth: "Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears" (Luke 4:16–31). His shrewd choice of his immediate disciples; his far-seeing and wisely adapted plan in sending out the Seventy; his systematic touring (Mark 1:38; Luke 8:1–3); his methods of work and his little adaptations—as using a boat as a pulpit when crowded off the shore (Mark 3:9); his desire to suppress his fame toward the end of the Galilean ministry, danger being evident (Mark 7:36)—all impress one as the revelation of a practical evangelist. The common-sense methods of Dwight L. Moody are suggested. He "taught as one that had authority" (Mark 1:22).

Notice his regard for law and custom. The healed leper was to go to the temple and make the customary gifts (Matt. 8:4). He carefully observes the matter of tribute: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" (Matt. 22:21). Peter must pay the shekel "for me and thee" (Matt. 17:27). The very matters on which he defied Jewish law and tradition show this practical common-sense. His whole attitude as to the sabbath reveals a man who can see reality as distinguished from sham. So when he allows his disciples to pluck corn on the sabbath (Matt. 12:1–8), we see the strong and practical man. That same marked characteristic of mind is shown in the way in which he resolves the sophistries of the Pharisees and Sadducees—the unfortunate widow of the seven brethren (Matt. 22:23), the perversion of the custom of corban (Matt. 15:1–6).

The whole Sermon on the Mount, the charter of the kingdom, is a wonderfully common-sense production. His appreciation of John the Baptist, as strong and effective, "not a reed shaken with the wind," "among those born of women none greater" (Matt. 11:11, 18, 19), shows the quality of the man who judged, as well as of the man judged. Hear him advise his disciples, on sending them forth, "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Beware of men" (Matt. 10:16, 17). His treatment of the question of divorce is much saner than that of many men in our own time.

His Palm Sunday entrance into Jerusalem (Matt., chap. 21) was well planned. Christ the practical man stands conspicuous.

But another Christ is presented in the synoptic story—the philanthropist. Some philanthropists are hard-headed business men. Philanthropy and common-sense can go together. Yet the two general types are clearly distinct. You do not expect an enthusiastic philanthropist to be a practical man. In a great philanthropic society, while the officers and agents are usually enthusiasts, some so-called conservative men, hard-headed business men, are always wanted on the board of directors. The philanthropist is, as a type, so different from the wise man of affairs that, usually, they are two different men.

In the synoptic story of the Christ we have the ideal philanthropist presented. He had "compassion on the multitude" again and again. He cries: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden." Here is another description of his work, given to the messengers of the imprisoned John: "Go and tell John the things which ye hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached unto them" (Matt. 11:4, 5). See his compassion on the widow of Nain, gently saying to her: "Weep not" (Luke 7:13); his sympathy with the centurion; the wide inclusiveness of his benefactions, overleaping Jewish prejudice, toward Roman official, Syro-Phœnician woman, Samaritan outcast. He cannot rest in the house of Peter at Capernaum until he has healed Peter's mother-in-law, and all the sick in the city (Mark 1:30–33). The philanthropist loves, and is therefore loved; thus Jesus wins the brothers from their nets, Matthew from the counting-table, the Galilean crowds, the prejudiced Samaritans, a few of the Jewish hierarchy. "And all the multitude sought to touch him; for power came forth from him, and healed them all" (Luke 6:19).

The typical philanthropist—loving, winsome, giving himself to others—thus the synoptists represent him. I do not mean to say that this is necessarily in contradiction to the other Jesus they present, the practical man. But, ordinarily, those two presentations would mean two different men.

See the third personality called Jesus in the synoptic story—the contemplative, devotional man, of the kind tending to fanaticism; the man of solitary night prayer (Mark 1:35), praying through the night hours before choosing his disciples. Prayer and common-sense do go together; yet they represent widely divergent types. Christ was the typical man of prayer. See him in the synoptic story, in the desert alone, with what some men would now call hallucinations, as the result of his forty days' fast and extreme faintness: visions of the devil, stones as bread, the temptation to cast himself from the pinnacle, the vision of the world, and its glory as his own. See the type of man presented therein by the synoptists—like a fasting, fanatical monk in his cell, in the ecstacy of a beatific vision. Suggestions of such startling spiritual experience come at other times in his life-story: "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished" (Luke 12:49, 51); "Are ye able to drink the cup that I am about to drink?" (Matt. 20:22). His keen appreciation of his coming fate, as he goes up to Jerusalem, when the disciples were "amazed" at him, betokens the same type of soul. See the revelation of his ecstatic spirit (Luke 10:17–24), as he beholds Satan as lightning fall from heaven. The transfiguration was a strangely mystical experience. His doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the synoptists (Luke 12:12) is mystical. The man who said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes" (Matt. 11:25), and, "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth anyone know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him" (Matt. 11:27), must be put into a distinct class. His whole doctrine and practice of the forgiveness of sins (Luke 7:36, 50); his teaching of the sin against the Holy Spirit (Matt. 12:31, 32); his startling assertion that his disciples were his mother and brethren (Matt. 12:46–50); his instruction to his disciples to "take no thought" when haled before synagogues (Luke 12:11, 12); his eschatological talk during the last days in Jerusalem—all bespeak the type of man that in these days is the ideal at Keswick and Northfield—or in a monastery; not at the table of a rich Pharisee, or planning wisely a campaign for the kingdom.

The synoptists present Jesus as the practical man, as the philanthropist, as the devotee. I do not mean to say that these three types are necessarily contradictory. But I think it would be possible to make a plausible argument that more than one man is included in the synoptic story of Christ. It is much as if tradition had added the idea of the prophetic John the Baptist to the idea of the philanthropic yet practical Man of Nazareth. Herod said of Jesus: "It is John the Baptist; he is risen."

Certainly the contradictions of type, in this synoptic story of the Christ, are startling. On the one side, love; on the other, denunciation, even indignation, "upbraiding." On the one side, courage, as he set his face to go to Jerusalem; on the other, shrinking in Gethsemane. On the one side, wanted as king; on the other, charged with insanity. On the one side, compassionately healing men; on the other side, blasting the fig tree. All that we can say is this: The synoptics present a many-sided Christ.

II. In the fourth gospel a marked type of man is presented. The doctrine of pre-existence, in the prologue to John's gospel, introduces a type of man far apart from much of the synoptic story. He is possessed of the Spirit at the outset of his mission, according to John's story (John 1:32, 33). He is presented as possessing intuitive perception of men; he sees into Peter (John 1:42) and Nathaniel (1:47, 48) and Judas (6:70). Indeed, according to John, he knew all men (2:24, 25). Listen to his talk with Nicodemus about the new birth; with the Samaritan woman about the "well of water springing up unto everlasting life;" to the multitude about the "bread of life;" at the feast of tabernacles about the mystery of his mission. Hear him present himself as "the Light of the world." Ponder the close relations which he claims between himself and the Father. Study the mystic beauty of John, chaps. 14–17. Divine consciousness, mysticism, assertion of power, of mission and judgment, identification of himself with the Father and of himself as the fulfilment of prophecy—"Moses wrote of me" (John 5:46).

Contrast could hardly be greater or more startling than between the Jesus of the fourth gospel and one's first impressions concerning the Jesus of the synoptics. So men say that the author has given us an idealization of Jesus, rather than the true Jesus.

But it is worth while to notice that in considerable measure one and another of the varied types of man, presented as Jesus in the synoptic story, appear in the fourth gospel. A hasty glance over a harmony of the gospels will show that astonishingly little of the synoptic story is repeated in John. But a close look at the story in John will perhaps surprise one, as we recognize the synoptic types, even in that mystic story. It is the Jesus of Matthew and Mark and Luke that we see again in John's story of the miracle at Cana, or in John's account of the cleansing of the temple (John 2:13–17). The man who healed the paralytic at Bethesda, in John's story, is the philanthropist of the synoptists. The man who would not walk in Judea because the Jews sought to kill him is the practical man, who, in the synoptic story, left Judea, and again went to the Phœnician border, because of John's imprisonment and death. The man who loved Mary and Martha and their brother Lazarus in John, chap. 11, is the intimate friend of the Bethany household, according to the synoptists. The crucifixion story is practically the same in John as in the synoptists. I doubt if the difference between the Jesus of the synoptists in general and the Jesus of John is any greater than are the differences, when closely studied, between the practical man and the philanthropist and the mystic in the synoptic story.

This leads us to say, further, that the fourth-gospel type appears in the synoptists. Luke's parable of the Prodigal Son is like a chapter of John's gospel inserted in the synoptist story. As Matthew describes the sons of Zebedee, with their mother, coming to Jesus, asking for preferment, and the indignation of the ten when they heard it; as Matthew represents Jesus as saying, "Whosoever would become great among you should be your minister, the first among you should be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:20–28); we hear again the Jesus of the thirteenth chapter of John: "Ye also ought to wash one another's feet." The brief suggestion, in the synoptists, of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit (Luke 12:12) contains in germ the beautiful and comforting elaboration of that doctrine in John, chaps. 14–17. Indeed, all that we said concerning the contemplative, devotional, mystic type of man in

the synoptic story is but a somewhat faded picture of the Jesus of John.

III. We are prepared, by the various types of manhood included in the many-sided Jesus of the synoptic story, for the more accentuated difference of type in the fourth gospel. The Jesus of John is not contradictory to the Jesus of the synoptics; he is only remarkable; just as the Jesus of the synoptists is remarkable in his many-sidedness. The Jesus of John differs from the Jesus of the synoptists, not in the essential, only in the unusual.

The apparent contradiction, of which so much is made, leading in some cases to the rejection of John's gospel as authoritative, leading even Professor Sanday to the supposition of what he calls "pragmatism" on the part of John, may be resolved, in part at least, by a recognition of the many-sidedness of the God-Man, Jesus. We have, indeed, in the fourth gospel a most valuable and illuminating accentuation of a phase of the many-sided Christ which is presented, but not with sufficient fulness, in the synoptic story.

Exploration and Discovery

PALESTINIAN LAMPS WITH CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Since the year 1864, when the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem began with a view to restoring the water system of the city, lamps with Christian inscriptions have been coming to the light after long burial in tombs. Such are figured in almost every volume recording the operations of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the archæological researches of M. Clermont-Ganneau and others. At first the inscriptions were figured, but



FIG. 1

not read, and only lately, with the larger accumulation of examples, has decipherment been attempted. Even now all is not plain, and a brief study of typical specimens may be of interest.

A group of the lamps with and without inscriptions will show that they are of nearly uniform size and give room for a circular ornamentation (Fig. 1). From lamps obtained in the excavation at Gezer it is seen that the modern form of a slightly curved edge, admitting no ornamentation, has indeed existed since pre-Israelite times.[1] The use in tombs of the

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1904, p. 327.

cup-like lamps having a circle of letters or other marks seems to have reached its height in early Christian times, when two hundred or more were sometimes placed in a single tomb.[2]

In his *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894–7* Dr. F. J. Bliss found and reported many specimens, with only partial readings[3] (Fig. 2–4). Mr. Macalister has recently spoken of the fact that one inscription seems to



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

have prevailed on the Christian lamps, ΦΩC XY ΦЄN ΠΑCIN, but that this is sometimes incorrectly put on, causing puzzling combinations of letters (Fig. 5).[4] From a lamp on which this inscription is correctly placed, though it is not good Greek, the elements may be seen as they are found on other lamps. Thus when Dr. Bliss speaks of one inscription as made of two letters, and when Mr. G. Robinson Lees gives ten such inscriptions,[5] it is evident that the letters are from this source (Fig. 4). M. Clermont-Ganneau had previously pointed out that a rather common inscription, not distinctly Christian, is ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ,[6] "pretty lamps" (Fig. 2). A very difficult inscription seems to give parts of the word ΛΟΥΧΝΟC, "lamp," twice (Fig. 3).



FIG. 5

In the account of his work at Gezer printed in the October, 1904, *Statement* Mr. Macalister gives with his decipher-

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 326. [3] Plate XXVI, p. 111.

[4] *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1904, p. 24; October, 1904, p. 349.

[5] *Ibid.*, January, 1892, p. 40.

[6] *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, 1888, Vol. I, p. 171; *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1896, p. 259.

ment a Christian lamp found there, and shows how blunderingly the letters of ΦΩC XY ΦЄN ΠACIN were put on (Fig. 6). It is possible that under persecution the sentence was disguised, but this has not been suggested in print. A similar use of the detached letters is seen on a lamp in the Harvard Semitic Museum numbered 2434 (Fig. 7).

An altogether different inscription is that found at Gezer and very clearly inscribed ΛYX(N)OC CTЄΦANOY ΦIΛOXPICT(O)Y, "the lamp of Stephanos Philochristos," as Macalister reads it, supposing the name to



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

be that of the owner of the tomb (Fig. 8). It seems hardly probable that a man would have the lamp made and thus marked for himself, and it seems more likely that it was made to honor the memory of the first martyr, or of some other Christian by that name. Indeed, it might be read without difficulty "the lamp of Christ-loving victory." This case of a unique specimen is nothing new in Palestine archæology, and we have learned to hold such explanations as may be offered in abeyance until, as has often occurred, similar specimens are found.

In the *Revue biblique*[7] M. Clermont-Ganneau has figured a lamp which combines the usual legend with the word ΚΑΛΗ (*sic*), so that the meaning is, "The light of Christ shines beautiful for all" (Fig. 9). He names

[7] October, 1898, p. 485.

another specimen having the same words, and concludes that the lamps bearing only ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ are also Christian. He refers them all to the usage of the Greek church at Jerusalem called the "Holy Fire," and believes that these lamps were lighted then, as candles are lighted still, from the fire in the hands of the priest. This may seem a far-fetched derivation until we note his statement that these very words, ΦΩC ΧΥ ΦΑΙΝΕΙ ΠΑCΙΝ are found in the liturgy of St. Basil used at the feast in



FIG. 8



FIG. 9

Jerusalem on Holy Saturday, when the fire ceremonies take place. Of course the words are derived from John's gospel, 1:5, 9, and John's first epistle, 2:8.

Mr. Macalister has also found a lamp with the inscription ΚC ΦΩΤΙCΜΟC ΜΟΥ,[8] but has not figured it. These words are the Septuagint version of Ps. 27:1, "The Lord is my light."

THEODORE F. WRIGHT.

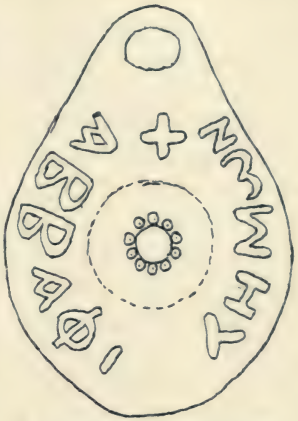
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

A CHRISTIAN LAMP FROM DENDERAH

Among the accessions to the Haskell Oriental Museum from Professor Petrie's excavations at Denderah in 1897–98, is a Roman lamp, probably of the Byzantine period (300–700 A. D.), with a Greek inscription. The

[8] *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1904, p. 349.

lamp is of the usual simple type, and measures 6×8 cm. The inscription, ΑΒΒΑ ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ, "Abba Philemon," stamped upon the lamp, is probably in honor of some abbot or father of that name, or even of Philemon of Colossæ, the friend and convert of Paul, whose name some church or monastery may have borne. A certain Philemon of Antinooupolis, a flute-player, was converted in the early years of the fourth century, through seeing the constancy of the martyr Apollonius, and suffered martyrdom at Alexandria. He was afterward held in much reverence in Egypt, his martyrdom being commemorated on March 8, and it may be to him that the lamp's inscription refers. Another Philemon of note in Egypt in the Byzantine period was the one to whom St. Nilus, the famous recluse of Mount Sinai, addressed one of his epistles, but he is less likely to have been intended, and "Abba" would hardly have been used of him. The title would very naturally be applied, however, to a martyr of note, like Philemon of Antinooupolis. While that place is more than two hundred miles down the Nile from Denderah, churches or monasteries named in honor of the martyr may have arisen anywhere in Egypt, and indeed such little lamps may have been carried from place to place in the ordinary course of things, and thus have been found far from their place of production. The rude cross that separates the end of the inscription from the beginning rather confirms the Christian origin indicated by the use of the ecclesiastical "Abba;" although such crosses are frequent in Byzantine papyri, pagan as well as Christian, in which they serve as a sort of decorative punctuation.



A LAMP FROM DENDERAH

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Work and Workers

Professor George W. Gilmore has resigned his position as professor of comparative religion in the Meadville Theological School. He will go to Germany for a short period of study.

Dr. James G. K. McClure, D.D., LL.D., for twenty-four years pastor at Lake Forest, Ill., and president *ad interim* of Lake Forest University, has been elected president of McCormick Theological Seminary. The election takes place simultaneously with the gift of $1,000,000, from members of the McCormick family, whose name the school bears.

J. C. Hinrichs, of Leipzig, has begun the publication of a new critical text of the Hebrew Bible, under the editorship of Professor Rudolf Kittel, assisted by other Semitic scholars. This edition will exhibit in concise form all important various readings of the Hebrew manuscripts, and the ancient versions as well as the conjectural emendations proposed by recent scholars. Part I has just appeared; Part II will be published within a year.

Arrangements have been made to issue early in June the first number of the *New York Review*, under the editorship of James F. Driscoll, D.D. It is to be "a Journal of the Ancient Faith and Modern Thought," and aims to treat in scholarly fashion the present-day religious and scientific conditions. It hopes to secure the united efforts of the most eminent Roman Catholic scholars throughout the world for the discussion and solution of problems connected with religion.

Rev. Putnam Cady, of Amsterdam, N. Y., has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England—an honor which has been accorded to only a few Americans. This distinction has been gained by him on account of his discoveries in the land of Moab and on the east shore of the Dead Sea. Mr. Cady was the first man to photograph the region of Moab, doing the work under great difficulties and privations. He proposes to continue his investigations into the deserts leading from the Dead Sea.

An *Encyclopædia of Religions*, to be issued in twelve volumes of seven hundred pages each, is announced as in preparation, under the direction of a board of editors, including such American scholars as Professor George F. Moore, President Charles Cuthbert Hall, Professor A. V. W. Jackson, President Benjamin I. Wheeler, and others not less distinguished. Dr.

Isido Singer is to be the managing editor. The publisher is not yet announced. A similar enterprise is in progress in Great Britain, under the editorship of Dr. Hastings.

THE Harvard faculty of divinity has just issued its announcement for the seventh session of the Summer School of Theology, to be held in Cambridge, Mass., July 5–21, 1905. The subject is "The Bible." The lecturers are Professors Toy, G. F. Moore, Lyon, E. C. Moore, Fenn, and Ropes, of the Harvard Divinity School; Professor Solomon Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Henry S. Nash, of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; and Charles C. Torrey, of Yale University. Each lecturer will deliver five lectures.

THE place left vacant by the discontinuance of the *Critical Review*, of Edinburgh, at the end of 1904, after completing its fourteenth volume, is not long to be left unfilled. Messrs. Otto Schulze & Co., of Edinburgh, announce that they are about to issue the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, having the same object as that of the *Critical Review*, and seeking to do for English readers what the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* does for the Germans, viz., to supply early and reliable information as to the progress of theology at home and abroad by means of scholarly signed reviews of the principal new books. Professor Allan Menzies, D.D., of the St. Andrews Divinity Faculty, will act as editor, with the co-operation of his colleagues.

BIBLICAL scholarship suffers a serious loss in the death, late in April, of Rev. Dr. S. D. F. Salmond, principal of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen. Dr. Salmond is well known to Americans, both by his publications and by his lectures in this country at the University of Chicago and elsewhere. His most notable single contribution to theological literature was probably his work, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, but he was the author of numerous other works, and especially of contributions to periodical literature. He was joint editor with Professor C. A. Briggs, D.D., of the "International Theological Library," and was himself to have contributed to that series the volume on New Testament introduction. He had been for fourteen years the editor of the *Critical Review*, which, in a sense, not inappropriately closed its career almost simultaneously with his. Dr. Salmond was in his sixty-seventh year.

Current Opinion

The Blessing of Theological Controversy

In the April number of the *Hibbert Journal* Rev. F. W. Ordeward, in writing upon "The Lord as a Man of War," declares that "it is incompatibles rather than the compatibles that unite at last." This sounds a trifle delphic, but, after all, the meaning is plain. The fundamental attribute of God is not inaction. As the author goes on to say: "God fights for us and with us by the very constitution of his own law, and perhaps his own being, as our adversary, and yet (as such) our greatest friend." The truth in this statement suggests that we should not be afraid of theological controversy. Our ideas grow sharper and are corrected as we find them attacked by others. Perhaps the same thing is true of their views as well. At any rate, controversy is something inevitable. Out from the bitter let us get the sweet. If we must form our own criteria, and oppose as well as approve other men's views; and if, in turn, they must criticise and oppose as well as approve ours, let us remember that we are all alike working for the same cause. An honest man ought not to care whether his view or that of someone else is accepted. He should want truth accepted, and he should not believe that another man is trying to destroy truth just because the two differ. It is only a little, mean mind that sees an infidel in every theological opponent. None of us has a monopoly of omniscience. We each may be partly wrong, or we may each be wholly wrong. We ought to be thankful to any man who will show us if we are either. And above all let us not forget that theological controversy is not theological squabbling.

A New Interpreter of the Suffering Christ

We have not been accustomed to class Oscar Wilde among theologians. In fact, he would have been the last man to permit it. Yet in his latest book, *De Profundis*, written in the Reading Gaol, there are two or three pages of the most exquisite and sincere interpretation of the suffering of Jesus. Oscar Wilde was an artificial soul, but suffering seems at last to have taught him sincerity. And he was enough of a poet to sympathize with some of the agony which must have been endured by Jesus. In *De Profundis* he disclaims religion and morality in the ordinary sense of

the words, but believes that through suffering he has found his soul. And, having found it, he suddenly sees the meaning of Jesus.

His experience is typical. A man may talk glibly, and even with intellectual assent, of Jesus and his death, but the real meaning of that death comes to one only as he himself stands face to face with kindred suffering in himself or in others. Then, somehow, the real meaning of Jesus' experience comes into his soul and helps him to know himself and helps him to know the meaning of suffering. Thereafter he may balk at mechanical theories of the atonement, but he knows that the world with the story of a dead Christ is a different world from what it was without that story.

Literary Analysis as a Passing Phase of Biblical Study

Professor John D. Davis, in the *Princeton Theological Review* for April, in reviewing Professor Kent's *Student's Old Testament*, calls attention to the fact that "nothing is gained by analysis unless the documents discovered by it are inconsistent." He goes on to say: "The supreme question concerns the authenticity of these early narratives, and the debate is being made to rest more and more upon broader considerations than the analysis." There is considerable truth in these statements; but whoever for a moment thought that criticism stopped with analysis? Its main object is to discover the authenticity and the trustworthiness of any document. That, however, does not offset the necessity of making analyses. None the less, Professor Davis is right in insisting that we have passed the period of merely literary analysis and have entered that of broad historical treatment. The great question here, however, is not the question of authenticity, important as that is. It is rather that of the permanent value of teaching found in authentic documents. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that Moses wrote every word in the Pentateuch. What effect would that have upon our treatment of the Pentateuch? Would the Christian be any more under obligation to obey its laws? Historical processes, when applied to the Bible, are just as unlikely as literary analysis to satisfy those persons who would hold to the Bible's verbal inerrancy and its uniform permanent authority.

Biblical Criticism in the Church of England.

A most interesting and instructive indication of the present state of opinion in the Church of England is furnished by a manifesto lately circulated for signature among the clergymen of that church, and signed

by about one hundred of them. It is so felicitous an expression of the fearlessness of faith and the courage of scholarship that we reproduce it entire for the benefit of our readers:

We, the undersigned clergymen of the Church of England—observing, on the one hand, the present unsettled condition of religious opinion, which, while due in the main to the general trend of modern thought, specially connects itself for the clergy with the critical study of the New Testament; and, on the other hand, a counter-tendency to treat the full discussion of many questions arising from such study as inadmissible for our church, and so to commit us as a body to non-critical views of the New Testament scriptures—desire to record—

Our sense of the grave and manifold religious issues involved in the present critical discussions and of the urgent need for English churchmen to combine an earnest faith in the Holy Spirit who guides into all truth with as earnest an effort to contribute to a solution of these problems;

Our desire that, as many of the clergy have already, with advantage to Christian faith and with a general assent on the part of their rulers, welcomed important results of a patient, reverent, and progressive criticism of the Old Testament, so the clergy, as Christian teachers, may now receive authoritative encouragement to face the critical problems of the New Testament with entire candor, reverence for God and his truth, and loyalty to the church of Christ;

Our fear lest the door of ordination should be closed to men who patiently and reverently apply historical methods to the gospel records, and so an increasing number of men both spiritually and intellectually qualified should be lost to the high office of the ministry;

Our conviction that it is not without grave responsibility and peril that any of us should build the faith of souls primarily upon details of New Testament narrative, the historical validity of which must ultimately be determined in the court of trained research—although many of us, until such final decision take shape, may cling devotedly to the traditional details in question;

Our confidence that the faith of the church in the years to come, whatever historical revisions may await us, will stand, without risk and without discontinuity, upon the spiritual foundations to which Christian experience and the creed of the church alike bear testimony.

This manifesto is attracting no little attention in England and, naturally enough, receiving some adverse criticism. In one aspect of the matter it is the old question whether dissenters from the opinions enshrined in the creed of the church are in duty bound to withdraw from the ecclesiastical bodies of which they are members, or may remain and seek to modify the opinion, and eventually perhaps the creed, of the church.

Book Reviews

The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon. Autographed Text, Translation, Glossary, Index of Subjects, etc. By Robert Francis Harper. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 192 with 103 plates and 2 photographs. $4.

Seldom indeed, is an archæological work given to the public that is as valuable as the present publication. The subject itself is of intense and enduring interest. The Code of Hammurabi, of the twenty-third century B. C., has already been the subject of much instructive discussion in longer or shorter treatises. Attention has, so far, been chiefly given to the relations of the code to the Mosaic legislation. It has been the fate of every archæological discovery in western Asia to become a subject of comment all over the civilized world in proportion to the degree in which actually or plausibly it has been made out to be illustrative of the Bible. The most important of such discoveries, whether or not they have directly illuminated the sacred writings, have become a valuable permanent possession of historical science and of literary history. We recall at once, as examples, the Babylonian Flood and Creation stories, the annals and rescripts of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian rulers, the religious literature of Babylonia, and the Amarna Letters. Such assuredly is also the destiny of the Code of Hammurabi, which is perhaps the most valuable single document that has been recovered in modern times from the débris of antiquity. The present work will do much toward giving a rightful place to this landmark of human civilization and toward setting it in its true relations.

How the code has been treated by the predecessors of Professor Harper is already pretty well known to a wide circle of readers, who in this connection are familiar with the work of Scheil, Peiser, Jeremias, Winckler, Cook, and especially Johns. It will therefore be helpful to begin an account of the present volume by saying in brief what it does not profess to do. It does not expatiate upon the part played by the code in Babylonian civilization. It does not seek to determine its place in the comparative legislation of antiquity in general or of the Semites in particular, and, most especially, it does not take up the question of its relation to the codes of the Pentateuch. Apparently assuming that the primary and most urgent need of the interested public is an epigraphical and philological apparatus

for independent inquiry, the author has furnished a practical handbook for the study of the code which leaves little to be desired in the way of thoroughness and completeness. Explanations of the provisions of the code and a discussion of its relations to the laws of Moses are reserved for a second volume.

A brief introduction (pp. xi–xiv) gives all that is necessary to know at the outset of the history of the document and of the principles upon which the volume has been compiled. The transliterated text, with a translation on opposite pages, occupies about one-third of the book (pp. 2–100). A topical index to the provisions of the code comes next in order (pp. 103–40). A list of proper names and a glossary of words and word-forms, with the places of their occurrence in the text, make up a third division (pp. 143–92). The autographed text of the forty-four columns of the code in the original characters, is then presented (Plates I–LXXXII), followed by a list of signs and numerals (Plates LXXXIII–XCIX). Scribal errors and erasures, and a map of western Asia (Plates C–CIII), complete the volume.

Several classes of readers may use the books with profit. Not merely jurists, penologists, and sociologists, to whom the code especially appeals, but educated people generally may use the translation with perfect confidence that it represents the legislation of ancient Babylonia as adequately as it is within the competency of modern skill and knowledge to do it. The index of subjects is quite exhaustive and forms from the topical side the most complete analysis of the document which has as yet been given to the public. It may serve the student both as a guide to the meaning of the code and as a permanent book of reference. Its method of grouping the enactments under general heads may be indicated by the caption "Bonds," defined in the index as including written deed, contract, note, mortgage, receipt, specifications, certificate of deposit.

To all classes of students the character of the translation is naturally of paramount importance. On its fidelity to the sense and even to the essential form of the original, the main utility of the work depends. On the other hand, it should be noted that for a long time any translation must be regarded as provisional and tentative. The prologue and epilogue of the code have difficulties of their own, which are well set forth in the recent work of Mr. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws* (New York, 1904); and the code proper is often equally obscure by reason of our lack of knowledge of the precise application of terms whose general meaning is already understood, and also because terms are sometimes employed whose signification is a mere matter of conjecture, and which have probably

not been explained aright as yet by any translator. An instance is afforded in the very first section of the code proper, where the interpreters do not agree as to whether the offense to be dealt with was that of having made a false accusation in general, or that of having woven an evil spell, though it should be said that the tendency of recent opinion is in favor of the former view, which is that held by Harper. A more fundamental divergence of opinion is revealed in the attempts to explain the word *muškênu*, which certainly indicates an important, yet not clearly understood, division or class of Babylonian society. The translation formerly given by Johns, "poor man," he has himself changed to "plebeian," in his latest work above referred to (pp. 74 f.). Harper renders "freeman," a term which necessarily is also vague. The Germans (see especially Kohler-Peiser, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, 1904, p. 127) appear to be wrong in regarding the class of people in question as being attachés of the court (*Ministeriale*).

A notice like the present cannot do more than merely indicate the nature of the problems and difficulties presented to the translator; and the general judgment may be expressed that no translation so clear and intelligible as Harper's has as yet appeared and none more accurate. As an accompaniment the book of Johns just cited, and his article, "the Code of Hammurabi," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. V, may be recommended in the meantime.

There is another important class of readers to whom the present work is now really indispensable. I mean students of Assyriology. Its value to specialists need not be pointed out; but a word may be said of the usefulness of the work to younger scholars. Several circumstances combine to make the great code an admirable text for learners. Great care was taken by the clerks of the ancient law schools to make the provisions as explicit as possible. Again, many phrases constantly recur which are important both as linguistic forms and as key-words to the ancient Babylonian and Semitic civilization and to its characteristic types of thought and life. Moreover, the frequent divergencies and irregularities in modes of spelling are of themselves an excellent preparation for reading Babylonian inscriptions generally; and the forms of the characters, coming as these do from the central period of Babylonian history, are the best comprehensive types of the cuneiform signs, being intermediate between the most ancient as yet known to us and those of the Chaldæan and Persian times. The copy of the original given by Harper, which is the only one accessible outside of the expensive reproduction executed by the pioneer investigator, Father Scheil, has been autographed with great care and accuracy. A photograph of a section of columns 38–42 is given by way of

introduction, and will be found useful for comparison with the autographed text.

The book might perhaps be improved by the addition of brief footnotes to the translation explaining the more obscure or ambiguous phrases. It would be important, for example, for the reader to know that the phrase "he shall be put to death," sometimes merely indicates the extreme legal penalty. The second volume will, of course, supply the temporary deficiencies. In the glossary cross-references might well be added on occasion, especially in view of the inconsistencies and caprices in modes of spelling so characteristic of Hammurabi. It would be an additional help to younger students if the roots were given in Hebrew characters.

J. F. McCURDY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

The Gospel and the Church. By ALFRED LOISY. Translated by CHRISTOPHER HOME. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. 277. $1, net.

This book is a sharp polemic against Harnack's famous lectures on the *Essence of Christianity*, and it commands exceptional interest because of the distinguished man whom it assails, no less than by the noteworthy record of its author as a Roman Catholic scholar and theologian. Since 1890 the Abbé Loisy has published a dozen volumes in the department of biblical criticism and exegesis, but his radical methods and extreme conclusions have drawn upon him the public censure of Roman ecclesiastical authority and caused his removal from his professorship in Paris. In this volume, however, which was published in French two years ago, he poses as a stanch defender of the Roman Catholic church against the stinging criticisms of Harnack, who declared that the Roman church, in an underhand way, thrust herself into the place of the western Roman Empire imbibed the grasping Latin world-spirit, and has so far secularized the gospel and appropriated pagan rites that she "has really nothing to do with the gospel, but is rather in fundamental contradiction to it." Accordingly, no one can read this work of Loisy with a clear appreciation of its value who does not come to it fresh from the reading of Harnack's lectures.

Many writers, representing different shades of belief, have taken in hand during the last four years to answer Harnack. It is no difficult task to go through his sixteen lectures and point out here and there statements which are far from being self-evident or satisfactory to most Christian people. His view of the person of Christ, his grouping and treatment of

the miracles of Jesus, his distinction between "the Easter message" and "the Easter faith," and several other opinions which find incidental expression in the lectures, may be at once rejected, while at the same time it may be seen that his main contention is irrefutable and admirable. It is quite unfair to say over and over again, as Loisy does, that Harnack makes the essence of the gospel to consist solely in the faith in God and in Christ, and that he twists history to suit his theology. One needs to verify the statements of Loisy when he refers to the positions of Harnack, for it is certain that in some things he has either misunderstood or failed to present fairly the real meaning of the German professor. One of the most striking features of Harnack's lectures is the number of their masterly summaries of the manifold elements of the gospel, and of their various bearings on the private and public interests of mankind. He comprehends the main teachings of Jesus under three heads, and takes pains to say that in each the message is at once so simple and so rich that its chief thoughts may be briefly expressed, and yet be seen to be so full of meaning that we never thoroughly master his sayings and parables.

Loisy exhibits great ability and skill in maintaining the claims of the Roman church. He does not scruple to defend the use of the scapular, the counting of beads, gaining indulgences on the ground of the merits of superior saints, and the worship of the saints and of the Virgin. "The Virgin and saints are religious types inferior to Christ, but united to him, leading to him, acting through him and for him. . . . . The Virgin is a subordinate intercessor all-powerful through Christ" (p. 270). And so the essence of Christianity cannot be compressed into such a narrow circle of ideas or fundamental principles as Harnack imagines, but is rather a growing institution with world-wide aims. "The church is as necessary to the gospel as the gospel to the church, and the two are really one, as the gospel and the group of believers were one during the ministry of Jesus" (p. 151). And old pagan rites, once "accepted and interpreted by the church," cease to be pagan, and so are not to be condemned because of their foreign origin (p. 235). These accretions, Loisy holds, do not compromise the gospel, nor are they foreign to its spirit. They become in fact part and parcel of it.

This polemic revives the old issues between Romanism and Protestantism. Whatever Roman Catholic readers may think of Loisy's book, no intelligent Protestant who takes pains to read both will believe for a moment that the Parisian Catholic scholar has refuted the Berlin professor. One feels that the argument which justifies the adoption of pagan rites to strengthen and enlarge the church of Christ must in logical consistency

also justify the Roman Inquisition, the *Te Deum* over the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in Paris, and all other examples of suppression of free thought and worship, "when accepted and interpreted by the church."

MILTON S. TERRY.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE.

The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. By JAMES DRUMMOND, M. A., LL.D., HON. LITT.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. 528. $3.50, *net.*

Professor Drummond declares that it "may be regarded as one of the assured results of biblical criticism" that the apostle John was the author of the fourth gospel. Would that this were so! It is, however, a matter for rejoicing that the tide of criticism is turning with considerable strength toward this conclusion. We are in the days of "partition" theories, and they mean that, at least, a part of the gospel is from the hand of the beloved disciple. The battle-ground of criticism is almost wholly upon the internal evidence, for nearly every careful study of the external evidence for the authorship but confirms the judgment once made by Matthew Arnold, that its testimony is clear and full for John. No more exhaustive and impartial review of that evidence has been given us than can be found in these pages of Dr. Drummond.

After reading the volume through, one feels that the statement in the preface is in no way presumptuous, that "in the pure interests of truth, and with no polemical aim either for or against any particular sectarian position," all the questions pertaining to this gospel have been studied. The judicial temper and critical acumen of the author give the work its high value. Written in the first instance for the students of Manchester College, the lectures cover the whole field of discussion in connection with the gospel. The contents are distributed in two books. Book I treats of the general character of the fourth gospel, and here its aim, style, and historic worth are considered. Some of the conclusions are:

> The prologue sets forth the fundamental ideas of the work and is divided into two parts, the purely theological and the historico-theological (p. 4). It is extremely probable that the writer of our gospel was acquainted with the synoptic cycle of narratives, but [one] cannot prove that he made use of our gospels or of any of them, though that also is by no means destitute of probability (p. 16). The object of the gospel is not to tell us all that can be learned about the life of Jesus, but to awaken or strengthen our faith in him (p. 22); [and] the faith which it wishes to create is spiritual rather than intellectual (p. 24).

Especially just and fine is the author's characterization of the mental attitude of John in reference to the philosophical terms which are said to appear in the gospel:

> The whole treatment of them leaves on my mind the impression of one who did not belong to the schools, but knew from the society around him the language and the difficulties of the thoughtful men of his time, and sought to answer their questionings, not by sinking into the wordy dialectics of a sophist, but by taking up current terms, and transmitting them with the fire of a faith which was more akin to spiritual imagination than to speculative philosophy (p. 25).

All this must receive the hearty assent of earnest students of the gospel. Preparatory to the answer of the critical question, how far the gospel is historical, Dr. Drummond emphasizes the difference between asking whether a work is historical or not, and whether it is true or not. An account may be historically true which cannot always meet the modern scientific demand for accuracy in every detail. In other words, there may be a subjective element in it which may make it more valuable as a true presentation of higher and inner meanings than any complete accuracy of details can. Dr. Drummond allows fully for this subjective element in John, and yet guards it in a way which is convincing. The subjectivity of the fourth gospel is a matter of the greatest importance, and the chapter (4) which treats of it is worthy of careful reading. In particular one is interested to know how far this subjectivity is to be looked for in the speeches and Dr. Drummond's judgment is given as follows:

> On the whole, I am unable to regard the speeches as strictly historical (p. 41). I am far from denying that there may be in the gospel a large admixture of genuine reminiscence, especially of the substance of the teaching; but I do not think our critical appliances will enable us to detach it, except perhaps in the case of some short and striking sayings where the writer expressly adds his own interpretation.

When it comes to the consideration of facts concerning which there appears to be a discrepancy between the synoptics and John, our author decides for the historicity of John as against the synoptics in regard to the date for the Lord's Supper, and for the synoptics in the matter of the visits to Jerusalem, the picture of John the Baptist, and the cleansing of the temple. In regard to the items from the Synoptics one cannot help feeling that the exegesis upon which the conclusions are founded is questionable. There is certainly much to be said for the historical accuracy of John in placing the cleansing of the temple at the opening of the ministry of Jesus.

Book II is given to a thorough, careful discussion of the external evi-

dence. It leaves little to be desired; especially full is the consideration of the testimony of Justin Martyr and of Papias. Every particular is given full weight either for or against the conclusion sought. There is no endeavor to force judgments, and the whole treatment reveals a wealth of patient, painstaking study of original sources. In view of all this, the conclusion finally reached is gratifying to every defender of the gospel: "On the whole, I cannot but think that the external evidence of Johannine authorship possesses great weight, and, if it stood alone, would entitle the traditional view to our acceptance" (p. 351). In view of some recent articles in the *Hibbert Journal*, one could read with profit the discussion of the question of John's residence in Asia. The attack on the traditional belief Dr. Drummond pronounces a failure.

In considering the internal evidence, the author follows the familiar way of showing that the writer was a Palestinian Jew whose native tongue was Aramaic, but who had learned Greek sufficiently well to speak and write it correctly. He cannot justly be convicted of ignorance of Palestinian geography. Dr. Drummond will not allow the same weight to the proofs of an "eyewitness" as is generally given to them, but nevertheless from the survey of the internal evidence declares that "we meet with a great number of facts which are such as we should expect if the traditional account of the authorship be true."

The last great division of the work is taken up with the handling of objections to the traditional view, and among other things are considered Wendt's hypothesis, the authorship of the Apocalypse, and the Paschal controversy. A word regarding each: The author agrees with Weiss regarding Wendt, that his theory rests upon an inadequate exegetical basis. As to the bearing of the Apocalypse on the authorship of the fourth gospel Dr. Drummond writes: "I have never been convinced that two extremely dissimilar works might not proceed from the same author, and I have felt that in the midst of such wide differences there are curious reminders of the language and thought of the evangelist." Sixty-nine pages are given to the review of the Paschal controversy. No point is left untouched, and the conclusion of the luminous discussion is that the celebrated argument drawn from it against the Johannine authorship of our gospel "rests in misconception, and, so far from being decisive of the question, does not possess the slightest validity."

Such in general is the character of this notable book, and such are some of its leading conclusions. It is the work of an independent scholar, whose method and care impress one with his earnest desire to get at the truth. It is all the more to be regretted, therefore, that he finds such a

narrative as the raising of Lazarus completely unhistorical. That is not the equivalent of saying that it is actual falsehood; rather it is the deliberate construction of a narrative as a pictorial embodiment of spiritual truth, "and one may admit a large amount of such deliberate construction" without invalidating the traditional view of the authorship. To this strenuous objection will be made. The ready admission of unhistorical elements in the gospel will seem to many the weakness of this book; nevertheless, as a whole, it is a real, significant contribution toward the understanding and solution of the Johannine problem.

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The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. xi + 293. $1.50, *net.*

It is a long road from the Professor Briggs whom I knew as a literal exegete and defender of traditional positions when I was a student at Union Seminary twenty-five years ago, to the author of this, the thirteenth volume from his prolific pen. Some of his writings have borne within them the marks of the transition. Sometimes they have almost reminded one of the southern heretic who believed on scientific grounds in the evolution of Adam, and on biblical grounds in the special creation of Eve. In this last volume he has almost, if not quite, reached the *terra firma* of a consistently and comprehensively tenable critical position. The only traces of the earlier positions are in such rare instances of special pleading as that, e. g., in which he defends Jesus' destruction of the herd of swine by saying: "If Jesus is the Messiah, endowed with divine authority on earth, we cannot refuse him the divine right to deprive men of their property. It is probable that these owners were unusually unworthy of his regard and were unusually deserving of deprivation of something they were misusing or abusing." In a similar relapse into doubtful apologetics he justifies the cursing of the fig tree: "He was now justified in putting forth his authority in an executive way in the condemnation and cursing of this ill-deserving tree, and of depriving its owner of property which probably he had not properly cultivated." These, and the too frequent use of the words "probable" and "probably," with the tendency to pass easily from fact to imagination, which the free use of these terms implies, are the only traces of the former dogmatic exegete which we find in this work of the broad critical scholar.

This book is an attempt to reconstruct what Jesus actually said by putting together what the evangelists, in their translation of Hebrew into

Greek, and Hebrew forms of teaching into forms better adapted to the Greek and Roman world, represent him as saying, and the form in which we know his original teaching was cast.

This original teaching was in four forms: (1) the parables, in dealing with which "we must translate the parabolic form into the forms of western and modern thought in order to understand the substance of the teaching;" (2) halacha—exposition and application of the law, discussions in which "Jesus employed the method of reasoning of the rabbis of his time, and these methods must be considered with all their faults, if we are to get a true understanding of his teaching;" (3) prophecy, which is proverbially in need of expert interpretation; and (4) haggada, "the more popular method, embracing the illustrative teaching of historic fiction as well as stories of the imagination, both in a prose form; and similes, allegories, enigmas, and shrewd sayings, in the poetic forms of Hebrew Wisdom." "The greater part of the teaching of Jesus, as it appears in Matthew and Luke, is in the gnomic form of Hebrew Wisdom, for the most part derived from the Logia of Matthew. All of these came from a Hebrew original, arranged in the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry. All of the gospels disregard more or less the poetic structure. The logia are sometimes condensed, sometimes enlarged by explanatory statements; but it is quite easy to find their original form, and so get the very words of Jesus in the form in which he uttered them." (What an effective antitoxin all this is, by the way, to the mental disease known as the doctrine of verbal inspiration!) Bold and interesting as this method of reconstruction is, it is a relief to find that nothing valuable is either added to or taken from the substance of the teaching of Jesus by its application. It is simply a promising and harmless exegetical experiment; and while its results have a high degree of probability, they can never give us absolute certainty, or much affect one way or the other the gospel message.

The more practical value of the book lies in its attempt to present in order the substance of the teaching of Jesus under such heads as "The Will of the Father," "The Word of Jesus," "The Kingdom of God," "Repentance and Faith," "The Two Ways," "Godlike Love," "Christlike Love," "Casuistry," "The Law," "Righteousness," "Pharisaism," "Sin and Judgment," "Service and Reward," "Counting the Cost," "Counsels of Perfection," "The Church and Society." Whoever has found difficulty in reconciling and interpreting the hard sayings of Jesus will find considerable light shed on them by the method of this book, which is that the lower law must give way to the higher, and that "over and above and beyond all laws and commands is the liberty of Christian

love, in the following of Christ; that in this Christian perfection consists." Precepts enjoined on those who enter into the highest service of God, and into the fulness of this liberty of love, become absurd and even mischievous when interpreted as rigid laws to be enforced on the hard hearts of the multitude by ecclesiastical or civil authority. Likewise the promises of all things needful, and the exhortations to be anxious for nothing material, apply only to those who are earnestly anxious for the spiritual gifts, and eagerly devoted to the spiritual service of the kingdom of God; and are by no means to be regarded as encouragements to promiscuous shiftlessness and improvidence. The ecclesiastics who quote the incidental remarks drawn from Jesus in his debates with the Pharisees and Sadducees as the last word on the delicate subject of divorce may well ponder such statements as these: "We may say in general that Jesus leaves out of consideration the ethics of the family, as they are presented in the Old Testament law. He does not oppose them; he does not endorse them; he does not change them. He made love the dominant force in the family as in all other relations." "He taught no civil laws. He did not endorse those of his time. He did not oppose them. The principle of Christlike love was destined to work transformation in all spheres, working gradually as leaven, as salt, as light."

The only noticeable inconsistency with the supremacy of this principle of love is where, in the chapter on "Service and Reward," Dr. Briggs attempts to revive the notion of "works of supererogation, and the acquirement of merit in heaven with God." If he had at this point tested his conception of the liberty of Godlike love by its human counterpart in the relation of husband and wife, parent and child, he would have detected its utter incongruity with this "doctrine of works of supererogation whose merit is stored up with God for the doer of them until the day of judgment." But this, like the apology for the destruction of the swine and the fig tree, is left over from the professor of a generation ago. These are almost the only flies in this very precious ointment. The great, positive position of the book commands the admiration of us all: "I am fully convinced that Jesus' principle of voluntary love is the great transforming principle of Christianity, the material principle of sanctification, and the principle specially adapted to this modern ethical period of the world. When it once lays hold of Christian people, as it surely will ere long, the Christian church will enter into a new and more fruitful age."

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HARVEY-JELLIE, W. Ezekiel: His Life and Mission. (*Bible-Class Primers.*) Edinburgh: Clark; imported by Scribner. Pp. 99. $0.20.

A handbook intended for use in Bible classes for adults, and well adapted to its purpose.

ARTICLES

SKIPWITH, G. H. The God of Sinai and Jerusalem. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, pp. 489–513.

On the supposition that Yahwism had its origin in the worship of the moon-god, Sin, who was worshiped in Ur and Harran, the author proceeds to indicate points of connection between Israel's religion and the worship of Sin. These are found in (1) the name Ur, taken as an appellation of Sin, and occurring in such names as Uriah (=Ur is Yahweh), and Uru-Šalimmu (=Ur, i. e., the moon is full), the old name of Jerusalem; (2) the words Urim and Thummim, which are to be interpreted as "Brightness" and "Wholeness," and represent, respectively, the bright crescent of the moon, and the dim, unlighted disk; (3) the large place held by moon-feasts in the cultus of Israel; (4) the probability that the bull-worship of Bethel is allied to the worship of the moon, the point of connection being found in the horns of the moon; (5) the creative energy ascribed to the moon in the religions of Babylonia and Egypt.

GORDON, A. R. Wellhausen. *Expositor*, April, 1905, pp. 257–75.

The conclusion of a study of Wellhausen's life and work begun in an earlier number. It consists mainly of reviews and estimates of two or three of Wellhausen's great books.

SMITH, G. A. Jerusalem from Reho-boam to Hezekiah. *Ibid.*, April, 1905, pp. 306–20; May, pp. 372–88.

CARR, A. The Eclectic Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament. *Ibid.*, May, 1905, pp. 340–51.

KÖNIG, ED. On the Origin of Jewish Prophetism. *Homiletic Review*, May, 1905, pp. 356 f.

A reply to the arguments of those who maintain that Hebrew prophetism was borrowed from the Canaanites. Against the probability of this, König urges (1) the unlikelihood of the followers of Jehovah, as rigid opponents of everything Canaanitish, having taken over such a prominent institution as prophetism from the Canaanites; (2) the incorrectness of the assumption that religious life was practically non-existent in Israel until the days of Samuel, when this new importation from Canaanitism is supposed to have taken place.

HAUPT, PAUL. The Poetic Form of Psalm XXIII. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1905, pp. 133–52.

ARNOLD, W. R. The Interpretation of קרנים מידו לו, Hab. 3:4. *Ibid.*, April, 1905, pp. 167–72.

This phrase is to be rendered, "he has horns that reach below his hand," the reference being to long braids of hair, which are a source of pride to Arabs even now, and are commonly designated "horns."

OLMSTEAD, A. T. The Fall of Samaria. *Ibid.*, April, 1905, pp. 179–82.

A study of the Hebrew and Assyrian narratives of the fall of Samaria, resulting in the conclusion that the city was captured by Shalmaneser in 722 B. C., as related in the Old Testament account, rather than by Sargon, in 721 B. C., as is more commonly supposed.

DENIO, F. B. The Authority of the Hebrew Prophets. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1905, pp. 287–303.

The conclusion of an article begun in the January number, which seeks to show the probability that the Hebrew prophets received their message and arrived at their consciousness of its divine authority, not by meditation and reflection, but by direct communication with Jehovah in vision or other manner not understood by us.

KYLE, M. G. New Light from Egypt on the Sacrifices. *Ibid.*, April, 1905, pp. 323–36.

The author's conclusion is "that not a single one of the great underlying ideas of the Hebrew system of sacrifices is found in the Egyptian system."

KÖNIG, ED. Is Joseph Forever Lost to Us as a Real Historic Person? *Methodist Review*, May–June, 1905, pp. 345–50.

A brief review of the arguments against the historical character of Joseph, with the purpose of showing their weak and inconclusive character.

GODBEY, A. H. Recent Criticism of Habakkuk. *Reformed Church Review*, April, 1905, pp. 196–214.

A defense of the unity of the book of Habakkuk against the criticisms of Giesebrecht and Stade.

RICHARDSON, E. C. Oral Tradition, Libraries, and the Hexateuch. *Princeton Theological Review*, April, 1905, pp. 191–215.

A citation of evidence intended to show that the supposition of the absence of *written* documents in Israel prior to *ca.* 1050 B. C. is impossible. The evidences cited are the Tel el-Amarna letters, the Moabite stone, the tables of the decalogue, the libraries of Babylonia and Egypt, and the use of papyrus in Canaan at an early date as shown by the report of Wen-Amon.

GUÉRINOT, A. Le culte des morts chez les Hébreux. *Journal asiatique*, November–December, 1904, pp. 441–85.

A concise and intelligent résumé of the important facts relating to the problem of the existence of ancestor-worship among the Hebrews.

SPEER, J. Zur Exegese von Hiob 19:25–27. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXV (1905), pp. 47–140.

The first sixty pages of the article present a history of the interpretation of this famous passage from Job. The conclusion of the author's own study of the passage is that vss. 26 and 27 are an interpolation, and that vs. 25 expresses Job's conviction that he has a vindicator who will present himself as the last participant in this debate with the three friends, and will enter judgment in favor of Job and in condemnation of his accusers.

ROTHSTEIN, G. Amos und seine Stellung innerhalb des israelitischen Prophetismus (mit einem Exkurs über Ort und Dauer der Wirksamkeit des Amos). *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, April, 1905, pp. 323–58.

This discussion of the place of Amos in the development of Israelitish prophecy is intended to demonstrate the error of those scholars who, like Wellhausen and Smend, represent Amos as the "founder of a new phase of prophecy," the "creator of ethical monotheism." Working along lines similar to those already followed by Giesebrecht, Meinhold, and Kautzsch, the author seeks to show that Amos introduced nothing new; that he merely intensified or emphasized teachings already promulgated by Elijah, and the J and E documents.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

MATHEWS, SHAILER. The Messianic Hope in the New Testament. (*The Decennial Publications*, Second Series, Vol. XII.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. xx+338.

STELLHORN, F. W. Kurzgefasstes Wörterbuch zum griechischen Neuen Testament. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1905. Pp. vii+158. M. 3.

ARTICLES

BURTON, E. D. The Present Problems of New Testament Study. *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1905, pp. 201–37.

A paper read before the International Congress of Arts and Science, St. Louis, September 23, 1904.

MERRINS, E. M. Did Jesus Die of a Broken Heart? II. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1905, pp. 219–44.

This medical investigation of the immediate cause of Jesus' death shows that it was not a broken heart.

NOLLOTH, C. F. The Resurrection of Our Lord and Recent Criticism. *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1905, pp. 529–42.

Against the positions of Schmiedel and Henson, the resurrection is argued for as objective fact.

"ROMANUS." The Historical Jesus and the Christ of Experience. *Ibid.*, pp. 574–84.

LOCK, W. Notes on the Gospel according to St. John. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1905, pp. 415–18.

FORRESTER, E. J. An Exegesis of James 5:14–20. *Baptist Review and Expositor*, April, 1905, pp. 213–21.

BARNS, T. The Epistle of St. Jude: A Study in the Marcosian Heresy. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1905, pp. 391–411.

It is contended that the epistle was evoked by the practices and teachings of the heresiarch Marcus, 135–60 A. D.

SCHIELE, F. M. Harnack's "Probabilia" concerning the Address and the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1905, pp. 290–308.

The "Hebrews" of the epistle were not Jewish, but gentile Christians, who found in Abraham "the Hebrew" (=emigrant), the prototype of their religious experience, and thus called themselves Hebrews. While the article is stimulating and suggestive, it is not convincing.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

SCHAEFER, H. The Songs of an Egyptian Peasant, collected and translated into German. English edition by Frances Hart Breasted. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Pp. XXIV + 148. M. 3.

ROBINS, H. E. The Ethics of the Christian Life, or the Science of Right Living. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1905. Pp. 488. $2.

ERMAN, ADOLF. Die aegyptische Religion. *Handbücher des Königlichen Museum zu Berlin.* Berlin: Reimer, 1905. Pp. 261. M. 3.50.

A brief and semi-popular summary of the religion of Egypt by one of the leading Egyptologists. The text is illuminated by one hundred and sixty-five illustrations. The treatment is primarily historical, tracing the development of the religion from the earliest times down through the Greek period.

Besides being an admirable handbook, and the only one obtainable on the subject, the little book is also a real contribution to the science.

ARTICLES

BREASTED, J. H. When Did the Hittites Enter Palestine? *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1905, pp. 153–57.

A refutation of Professor Sayce's statement in the January *Biblical World* that Hittites were found in Palestine as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (2000–1788 B. C.).

GODBEY, A. H. The Place of the Code of Hammurabi. *Monist*, April, 1905, pp. 199–226.

An attempt to correlate this code with other great systems of legislation, and to show that it is such a code in its underlying principles as might be expected to develop among any people having attained a given stage of civilization. Hence points of contact and similarity with other codes are not necessarily evidences of interdependence or dependence upon a common original.

BARNES, A. S. The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1905, pp. 356–71.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews in its earliest form is identified with the Logia of Matthew attested by Papias. This developed later into a fuller gospel, composed perhaps "in imitation of the Greek gospel of Matthew, and out of the same sources"—a stage reached "not later than the close of the first century." This solution of the problem is open to objection from many sides.

BIGG, C. Notes on the Didache, III. *Ibid.*, pp. 411–15.

"The *Two Ways* is the work of Barnabas," and is thus early. At a much later time ("some time after the cessation of persecution") an Egyptian writer wrought it into its present form, using materials drawn from the Didascalia, Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, and an unknown gospel, and appending to the whole a church manual. These positions exhibit little that commends them.

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